HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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U.S. Policy Hits New Low

Why No Asylum for Svetlana?

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

With the Johnson Administration's abject refusal to grant political asylum to Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, American foreign policy has sunk to a new low.

Not since President Kennedy ratted at the Bay of Pigs and subsequently promised Khrushchev not to use force against Communist Cuba has the American image been so soiled.

Nothing so illustrates the bankruptcy of Soviet communism after half a century of existence as the defection of the daughter of its bloodiest tyrant. That even she could no longer put up with the Bolsheviks' mixture of brutality and emptiness revealed once and for all the fraudulence of Soviet propaganda. By granting her the political asylum of which we should be proud, the U.S. Administration could have rocked the Kremlin back on its Red heels and made it the laughingstock of the non-Communist world.

Instead, after helping Svetlana to reach Europe from India, American officials hastened to persuade Switzerland to abide by its proud tradition and offer shelter and protection to Stalin's daughter.

For the request to live in the United States had, according to reports, caused consternation in the State Department, and was a source of considerable diplomatic embarrassment.

It came at the moment when anxious American officials were hoping to secure what they now call "peaceful engagement" with the Soviet Union.

The excuse for this un-American behavior is the same that we have been hearing ever since the advent of the New Frontier: peace requires us to assume that the Soviet Union is losing its aggressiveness and conclude with it a number of agreements necessary to "save the world from nuclear destruction."

In refusing to admit Svetlana, the United States is—according to the New York *Times*—aiming to "avoid a U.S.-Soviet rift."

Even if based upon indisputable facts, this policy would be questionable, since there is no reason why Americans should fear conflict more than Russians.

But the truth is, while we have wheedled and pleaded, the Kremlin over the last eight years has waged a Cold War against America and civilization more systematically than it did under Stalin.

Here are a few instances:

1956: The USSR suppressed the Hungarian revolt by force.

1958: Mr. K. issued an ultimatum over Berlin—and backed down.

1960: Soviet agents tried to seize the Congo through their agent, Patrice Lumumba. Moscow sent weapons by air to Laotian Communists.

1961: Russia ordered its German stooges to raise the Berlin Wall, and after duping the United States, embarked on larger nuclear tests.

1962: Mr. K. smuggled intermediate ballistic missiles into Cuba in order to blackmail the United States.

1963: Castro-trained Africans seized Zanzibar and murdered the Arabs, whose families had been there for centuries. Soviet arms enabled Sukarno to threaten Malaysia and in Nasser's hands furthered the aggression in Yemen. Arms to Ben Bella encouraged him to attack Morocco.

1964: Castro-trained agitators incited the bloody riots in Panama.

1966: At the Tri-Continental Congress in Havana, the USSR emerged as the mastermind and source of Communist subversion and rebellion throughout Latin America. Moscow took further steps in its major effort to dominate and communize the entire Middle East.

These indisputable instances demonstrate that far from "mellowing," the Soviet rulers are raising aggression to an ever higher, ever broader level, while talking peaceful coexistence.

Under these circumstances, an American Administration that respected itself would not merely have welcomed Svetlana's appeal for political asylum but would have exploited it throughout the world—and not least in the Soviet Union, thus reducing communism's appeal everywhere.

But not President Johnson's "pugwashed" advisers.

Truly, it is time for a change.

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Svetlana Stalina, the only known surviving child of the late dictator, disembarks from the plane at Geneva, Switzerland, after her defection from the Soviet Union.

'Ugly Milestone' Must Be Reversed

By REP. PAUL FINDLEY (R.-Ill.)

REP. FINDLEY

The United States celebrated the 20th anniversary of the Truman doctrine—a policy to contain communism and give hope to enslaved people—in a disgraceful manner last weekend by refusing asylum to a woman who sought refuge from the heartland of the Communist empire.

It was disgraceful, because the refusal had nothing to do with actions or attitudes of the woman herself. She was neither a criminal nor a political troublemaker.

The refusal was political expediency, plain and simple. We must hang our heads in shame, because it broke the hallowed tradition which has made the name America a bright beacon of hope to all those who long for the day when they too can escape from tyranny, walk into a U.S. embassy and be assured asylum. Until last weekend America was a star to which they could pin their hopes with confidence. But no more. Asylum now may be denied in order to protect that will o' the wisp of international politics called **detente**. As this grim news makes the rounds, hope will wink out in hundreds and thousands of desolate places.

What an ugly milestone in the long course of liberty's struggle against tyranny. After precisely 20 years of persistent work—so costly in blood and dollars—the world's mightiest military power serving the world's freest people fears to shelter a woman because to do so might irritate the world's most powerful dictatorship.

Has the struggle ground to nothing our sense of values? Those who struggled must shudder when they learn that the United States is so obsessed with placating dictatorship that it turns away a woman seeking safety.

The woman, of course, is the daughter of Russia's bloodiest tyrant. Joe Stalin must be grinning in his grave. In rejecting his daughter's plea, America passed up the greatest opportunity since the Bolshevik revolution 50 years ago to reveal the bankruptcy of Communist life and the promise of freedom. I cannot believe this is what the American people really want. Better late than never, the United States must reverse its decision, open its doors to this woman, and put together as best it can the shattered fragments of a once great tradition.

If Soviet civility can be purchased only by sacrificing American compassion for people seeking freedom, the price is too high.

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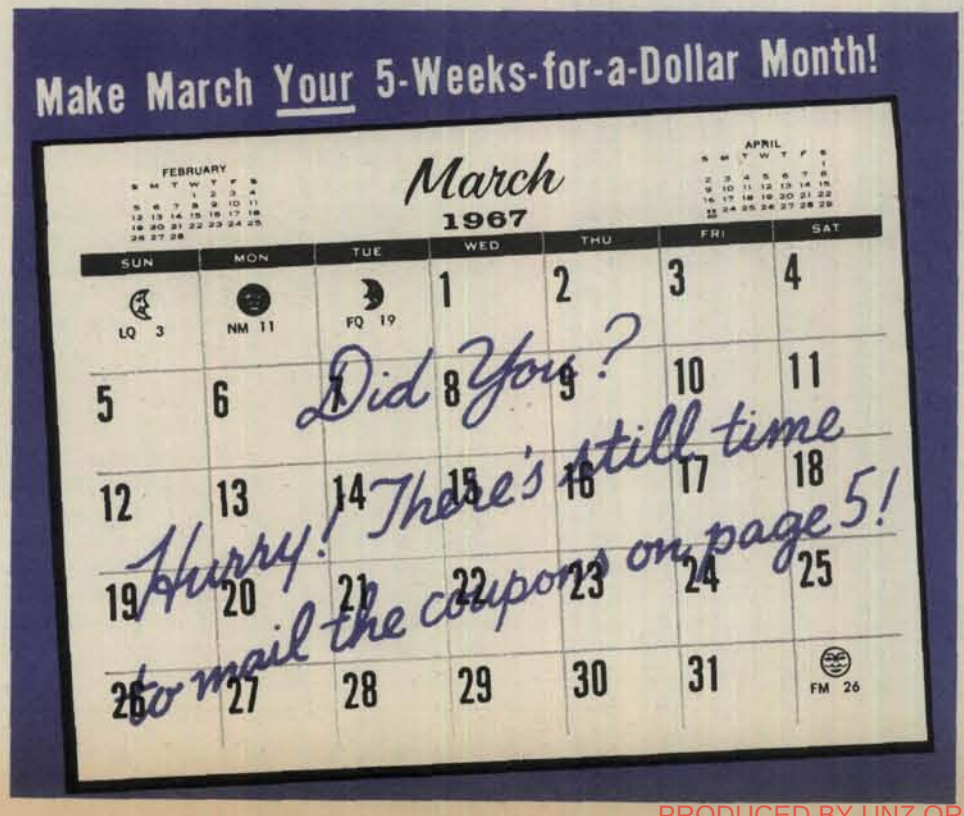

NEWSPAPER

The Case for GOP Negativism

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● New U.S. Atty. Gen. **Ramsey Clark**, who thinks Communists are "eccentrics" and wants to outlaw capital punishment and the use of wiretaps against organized crime, has sharply criticized proposals to overturn Supreme Court rulings limiting the admission of confessions in court. Clark's testimony before a House Judiciary subcommittee was made the same day the FBI reported that serious crime in the United States rose 11 per cent last year.

● Though campaigning for the presidency as a "states righter," ex-Gov. **George Wallace** says he's not against the federal government "providing aid to education. . . ."

● Unlike their hostility toward the George Romney organization, conservatives are pleased with some of the persons leading the **Nixon-for-President** drive. Among those attached to a Nixon committee that opened in Washington last week are two forthright conservatives: Maurice Stans, Ike's former budget director, who also headed a task force for Goldwater in 1964, and Robert C. Hill, a former ambassador to Mexico and a militant anti-Communist.

● Here's what the Communist People's World says about the **National Student Association**. CIA-backed or not, notes its reporter Gene Dennis, son of late Communist party chairman Eugene Dennis, "throughout the years NSA has often taken courageous positions on domestic issues. . . ." NSA, says Dennis, not only registered its "opposition to HUAC, erosion of academic freedom and racial injustice," but included "an admixture of liberal and radical students who found NSA the only viable student organization for registering dissent from the status quo."

● Will LBJ learn from **de Gaulle**? Le Grand Charles has discovered the hard way that appeasement of the Communists doesn't pay off politically. Last week his Union for the New Republic party suffered a stunning defeat, losing some 40 seats in the National Assembly. De Gaulle's foreign minister, Couve de Murville, who faithfully carried out de Gaulle's foreign policy, was defeated for the assembly by Edward Frederic-Dupont, a conservative.

● Sen. **Robert F. Kennedy** (D.-N.Y.) refuses to deny reports that he consulted with Marxist Prof. Staughton Lynd and SDSer Tom Hayden before making his speech on Viet Nam.

● Democrats sneered when Florida Gov. **Claude Kirk** announced creation of a private investigative force to help wage war on crime, But last week "Kirk's Kops"—as they were dubbed by one hostile newspaper—scored a smashing triumph as they broke up a $780,000-a-year narcotics ring. Kirk disclosed that the detectives began investigating the ring six weeks ago and worked their way into the group, making "buys" of narcotics for evidence.

● Vice President **Hubert Humphrey** is promoting trade with the Communists in order to try to get the American farmer to vote Democratic in 1968. Speaking to the left-wing National Farmers Union in Oklahoma City last week, Humphrey told his audience that the American farmer should not be denied his share in hard-currency sales in Eastern European markets "in the name of anti-communism."

● President Johnson and the AFL-CIO are working hard to mobilize public opinion behind LBJ's request that Congress raise **Social Security** benefits 20 per cent. Presenting film messages from Johnson urging adoption of this legislation, the AFL-CIO recently held Social Security rallies in a score of major cities, including New York, Oklahoma City, Boston, Cleveland, Cincinnati and New Orleans.

● Senators investigating the anti-poverty drive have found that many poor people are opposed to the **guaranteed annual income**. "Giving money for people to do nothing is ridiculous," declared Dora Moore, a Negro mother of three who lives in New Haven. A similar view was given by Carl Johnson, a disabled white miner from Kentucky. "A lot of people, if they know they are going to get a certain amount of money, they are not going to work," said Johnson.

● Calif. Gov. Ronald Reagan's executive secretary, Philip Battaglia, says the **Reagan administration** plans to eliminate 3,000 government jobs in the next two years. Savings to the taxpayers: $20 million annually.

● Scripps-Howard reporter Fred Sparks wrote last week from Moscow that Bobby Kennedy and the New York Times may unwittingly be prolonging the **Vietnamese war**. Sparks said that "in the Communist world Sen. Kennedy is the most popular and oft-quoted American public figure and the New York Times the most-respected and often-quoted journal." Criticism of U.S. policy in Viet Nam by Kennedy and the Times may convince the Communists that the Americans will quit Viet Nam, Sparks wrote.

● The House Committee on Un-American Activities has been probing the activities of the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee**. A full investigation of that group could be forthcoming.

● The International War Crimes Tribunal, organized by **Bertrand Russell** to convict the United States of war crimes in Viet Nam, is expected to begin hearings in Paris on April 10, according to the National Guardian. U.S. members of the tribunal, says the Guardian, now include author James Baldwin and Stokely Carmichael.

● Egghead **John P. Roche**, a former ADA chairman and now a White House adviser, has struck back at Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who has been taking the side of the Soviets and the Viet Cong on what should be done to stop the war in Viet Nam. Referring to Schlesinger, Roche declared: "Power corrupts. And absence of power corrupts absolutely."

● While LBJ tries to get Congress to raise Social Security taxes, a study by the respected **Tax Foundation**, Inc., of New York, shows that a 21-year-old just entering the Social Security system isn't going to make out too well. The foundation says such a person will contribute $32,496 in taxes and accumulated interest over a 44-year work period, while—based on a life expectancy of 13 years after retirement—could only collect $19,704 in benefits.

● LBJ has called for a 25 per cent increase in the budget of the scandal-wracked **war on poverty**. In a special message to Congress, the President asked for more than $2 billion for Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity. A total of $25.6 billion—spread through 10 government agencies—would be spent to aid the poor, Johnson said.

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The Floundering GOP

Savvy political observers, parroting a comment once made about Ike, say the Republican party is "running like a dry creek."

As they see it, the GOP began 1967 with a golden opportunity to make LBJ a one-term President. The party won a sweeping victory in November and came out fighting the "Great Society" and Soviet appeasement in the Ford-Dirksen "State of the Union" address. But now, according to these pros, the "Republicans are throwing their chance right out the window."

Dirksen, it is observed, stirred the grass roots when he delivered a blast against LBJ's policy of coddling the Communists, but partially tossed away that issue last week when he supported the "soft-on-Soviet" consular treaty—and brought along with him such staunch Republican conservatives as Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper (Iowa) and Wallace Bennett (Utah). With the mail running 100-to-1 against the treaty, the GOP may have given up its best issue for 1968.

DIRKSEN

Trading with the enemy is also unpopular with the grass roots, if not with the vested interests. Yet in the House two conservative-minded Republicans, James Harvey (Mich.) and Chester Mize (Kan.), have helped launch LBJ's plan to grant a U.S. loan to Italy so Fiat can build the Soviets an auto plant supplied with high-quality American machine tools.

Republican House leader Gerald Ford spoke brave words when he called for "recision" of "Great Society" spending measures. But that drive appears to be floundering also.

Will the GOP press for recision of the scandal-ridden poverty program, the demonstration cities plan or the rent subsidy scheme? If so, nobody's talking.

Instead of building up a fire for repeal legislation, in fact, a number of highly placed Republicans are urging the President to spend more money on the highway program and public works. "The Republican party is handing George Wallace just the ammunition he needs to make a go of a third party," stated one gloomy Republican. (Along these lines, Stan Evans presents "The Case for Republican Negativism" on page 8.)

Some observers are complaining that the GOP seems determined to repeat the mistake the party made in 1948 when Gov. Thomas Dewey was the presidential candidate. That year the Democratic party was bitterly divided—just as it is today. President Harry S Truman, like President Johnson, was considered unpopular with the voters. And Truman, like Johnson, was receiving heavy flak from both the conservative and liberal wings of his party.

South Carolina's Gov. Strom Thurmond, then a Democrat, bolted the national party to form a Southern-oriented third party—much as George Wallace is hoping to do. Henry Wallace, representing the Bobby Kennedys and the New Left of his day, headed still another Democratic offshoot.

The polls, of course, predicted a Republican victory. But it was Truman who wound up in the winner's circle. Knowledgeable politicos chalked up Truman's stunning win to the GOP's (and Dewey's) "me-tooism" and the party's refusal to take real issue with the Democrats over high prices and communism.

Jules Ables, in his incisive analysis of the 1948 campaign, *Out of the Jaws of Victory*, says: "The general apathy which hurt the Dewey vote was properly chargeable to Dewey, who waged no fight. The Washington *Post* said just before the election, 'The campaign has been duller and less significant than any similar contest in recent years.' Walter Lippmann wrote, 'There is no fundamental conflict of doctrine, no ideological conflict remotely comparable with that which separates parties, say in France or Britain.' "

The New York *Post*, said Ables, was right when it noted: "As far as the people can see, the future will be the same no matter which party wins."

At the current stage of the 90th Congress, the GOP, which must build the record upon which its candidate must run, has not revealed itself to be decisively different from the Democrats. If that image prevails, say politicos, LBJ, like Truman, will waltz to another term in 1968.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

Consular Vote

The Senate narrowly approved the U.S.-Soviet consular treaty last week and its sponsors promptly hailed its ratification as a start toward a thaw in the Cold War. President Johnson, who had powered the treaty through the Senate, said he hoped the Soviet Union would now "move promptly to ratify . . . and that arrangements will be made" for the convention to come rapidly into force.

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R.-Ill.), who once bitterly condemned the three-year-old treaty, left Walter Reed Hospital earlier in the day to make a closing plea for the pact. Six separate attempts to tie reservations and other limiting language to the treaty were defeated.

The Washington *Post* claimed the main factor working for the treaty was the "spirit of *detente*"—the suggestion that the very fact that such a treaty could be negotiated demonstrated a relaxation of tensions. With the convention's passage, the Administration is expected to push even more vigorously its proposals for increased East-West trade, the space treaty and other schemes to placate the Soviet Union.

• Following is the 66-to-28 rollcall vote by which the Senate passed the consular treaty. Since a two-thirds vote was necessary, a switch of only three votes would have shelved this Johnson "bridge-builder" to the Communist bloc.

FOR THE TREATY—66

DEMOCRATS FOR (44)—Anderson, Bartlett, Bayh, Burdick, Clark, Ellender, Fulbright, Gore, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hayden, Inouye, Jackson, Jordan (N.C.), Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N.Y.), Long (Mo.), Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Monroney, Morse, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proximire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Smathers, Sparkman, Spong, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS FOR (22)—Aiken, Allott, Baker, Bennett, Boggs, Carlson, Case, Cooper, Dirksen, Dominick, Fong, Griffin, Hatfield, Hickenlooper, Javits, Kuchel, Morton, Pearson, Percy, Prouty, Scott and Smith.

AGAINST THE TREATY—28

DEMOCRATS AGAINST (15)—Bible, Byrd (Va.), Dodd, Eastland, Ervin, Gruening, Hill, Holland, Hollings, Lausche, McClellan, Montoya, Russell, Stennis, and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST (13)—Cotton, Curtis, Fannin, Hansen, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.), and Young (N.D.).

PAIRED FOR—Brewster and Church; Against—Byrd (W.Va.)

Not voting, but announced against the treaty were: Democrats Long (La.) and Cannon (Nev.); Republican Brooke, for.

Svetlana's Defection

The refusal of the United States to grant political asylum to Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, has stunned veteran anti-Communists in the United States and abroad, even more so than the ratification of the U.S.-Soviet consular treaty (see front-page story).

The failure to exploit her defection, say diplomatic observers, reveals the depths to which the Johnson Administration will sink in order to antagonize its major adversary, who, even while we're appeasing her, has stepped up the war in Viet Nam.

The New York *Times'* John Finney, whose contacts in the Johnson Administration are exceeded by few reporters, bared America's extraordinary consideration for the feelings of the Soviet Union in a front-page story, March 11. "American officials disclosed today," noted Finney, "that Svetlana Stalin would take asylum in a European country to spare the United States diplomatic embarrassment in relations with the Soviet Union."

The daughter of Josef Stalin apparently had startled American officials by knocking at the door of the United States Embassy in New Delhi to ask for asylum. With the aid of U.S. officials, she flew to Europe and is now temporarily residing in Switzerland. According to officials, she had arrived in India with the ashes of Brijesh Singh, a good friend of hers who died in Moscow last October 31. Soviet officials had permitted her to take Singh's ashes to India and visit his family.

Declared Finney: "Her request for asylum was said to have caused considerable consternation in the State Department and at the White House." Administration officials apparently felt that her defection would ruin the supposed American-Soviet *detente*.

Under normal circumstances, Finney reported, "it is United States policy to grant asylum to persons whose lives might be in jeopardy if they returned to their homeland. It was decided at high Administration levels that in this case it would be advisable if asylum could be found in some other country."

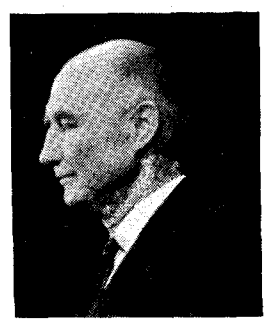
The State Department refused to volunteer the information that Svetlana had desired asylum in the United States, but finally admitted the fact when prompted by a deluge of questions from reporters.

Carl Bartch, a State Department press officer, acknowledged this when he read a prepared statement about an offer by William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester (N.H.) *Union Leader*, to raise money to bring Svetlana to this country if she wanted to come.

"We have no comment to this [Loeb's offer]," said Bartch. "On the general question of asylum, Stalin's daughter . . . did request political asylum in the United States as well as other countries. This request has been neither denied nor granted."

A number of lawmakers have been shocked at the Administration's attitude. Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.) declared that those who have struggled against communism "must shudder when they learn that the United States is so obsessed with placating dictatorship that it turns away a woman seeking safety." (For complete text, see front page.)

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) scored the fact that the United States refused to give her asylum since her life is clearly in danger. He also noted: "The defection of Svetlana Stalin. . . was a rare opportunity for the United States to explain the nature of totalitarian rule to the world. Svetlana Stalin's account of her experiences in the Communist empire consolidated by her father would strike a blow for the destruction of Communist rule.



THURMOND

"Moreover, if Svetlana Stalin had found friendly asylum in the United States, the effects would have been of long-term importance. Other high-ranking defectors would have been encouraged to break away from the Red hierarchy, casting discredit upon totalitarian rule. Such encouragement would have been of extreme tactical importance in Red China, for ex-

• Gov. George Romney has yet to master the role of genial, back-slapping campaigner. Spotting Maryland Gov. Spiro (Ted) Agnew at a recent political gathering, the Michigan governor turned on the smile, thrust out his hand and bellowed: "Hi, Tom!"

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ample, where unrest and party purges no doubt are inciting many to consider escape.

"It now appears that the United States has an official policy of discouraging defectors, for fear of embarrassing communism. We have, in effect, told such escapees from tyranny to go back where they belong."

• While the United States may have pleased the Soviets by denying Svetlana asylum, this decision has disturbed our allies, particularly West Germany.

Bild Zeitung, in a front-page editorial, blistered the United States. "America," asked the newspaper, "what has become of you?

"What we did not want to believe because it seemed monstrous has now been confirmed by Switzerland: The United States has not granted an entry permit to Stalin's daughter, obviously out of fear that this might cloud relations with Stalin's successors in Moscow. . . .

"Bombs and grenades in Viet Nam to fight communism, the cold shoulder for a political refugee out of friendship for the Communists. Friends of the United States are finding it more difficult every day to understand American foreign policy. If things go on like this, the Statue of Liberty will have to wear a mourning ribbon."

The conservative Frankfurt *Allgemeine Zeitung* said: "There are basic principles one cannot deny for the sake of a prudent foreign policy, if one does not want to cut off the branch on which one is sitting. . . ." Apparently, however, the United States seems willing to do just that.

Judge Scolds Labor Dep't

A federal court judge in the District of Columbia has ended three and one-half years of harassment of the National Right-to-Work Committee.

In dismissing a suit brought against the committee by the U.S. Department of Labor, Judge Alexander Holtzoff declared: "I don't think the attitude of the Department of Labor is quite reasonable here and, after all, there has been a waste of government funds in filing this suit. The other side has been put to a lot of expense. . . . This case has been on the docket of this court when it is all a tempest in a teapot."

Filed by Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz, the suit claimed that the Right-to-Work Committee was subject to certain provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act and had to issue a report admitting that it had acted as a "labor consultant" in an arrangement with management to influence employes in the selection of a union. If the suit had been successful, the committee would have had to disclose its financial supporters. Obviously, because of the chance of reprisals against contributors, this is something it did not want to do.

WIRTZ

Wirtz filed his suit on the flimsy contention that William T. Harrison, president of the Right-to-Work Committee, had somehow become a "labor consultant" because he had made a speech opposing compulsory unionism at the dedication of a new fertilizer plant in Bartow, Fla. The Virginia-Carolina Corp. which owned the plant was facing a jurisdictional dispute at the time.

Harrison, however, knew nothing about the dispute and, moreover, said nothing about it. Furthermore, his only point was that compulsory unionism, not unionism per se, is an evil. Judge Holtzoff obviously saw that taking this position did not make Harrison a "labor consultant."

Reed Larson, executive vice president of the committee, suggested there had been "collusion" in the suit between Secretary Wirtz and "top union professionals."

Such collusion, he said, was indicated "by the fact that the secretary's intention to act against the National Committee first appeared in the Sept. 5, 1963, issue of *The Machinist,* the official publication of the IAM [International Association of Machinists] —more than a week before the announcement was made public and before the National Committee had any knowledge of the secretary's intention!"

The obvious goal of the secretary of labor, Larson continued, "was to force the National Committee to disclose the names of its 25,000 supporters—including 9,000 rank-and-file workers—thereby exposing them to harassment by government agents and irresponsible union officials. The decision by Judge Holtzoff puts an end to another of Willard Wirtz's wide-ranging schemes to advance compulsory unionism to hamstring the operations of the National Right-to-Work Committee."

• Wyoming still retains its right-to-work law in spite of intensive lobbying by the labor unions and their allies. Though a repeal measure passed one house, the legislature adjourned with its anti-compulsory unionism law still on the books.

Lodge's Resignation

Capitol wags are saying that Henry Cabot Lodge apparently looks on Viet Nam as a resting place between political campaigns. Lodge, who has resigned as ambassador to Saigon, is expected to return to the United States to work in the 1968 Republican presidential sweepstakes. If so, he'll be repeating his performance of a few years ago when he was ambassador to Viet Nam under John F. Kennedy.

LODGE

After jerking the rug out from under anti-Communist ruler Ngo Dinh Diem, and almost causing South Viet Nam's collapse, Lodge came home to try to torpedo Barry Goldwater in his drive for the GOP presidential nomination. Goldwater was nominated, of course, but Lodge and his fellow liberals sabotaged whatever chance the Arizonan had of beating LBJ.

The question in the minds of many Republicans now is: Has Lodge picked another target this time?

• An interesting sidelight to the Lodge resignation:

On March 6 the New York *Times* reported that Henry Cabot Lodge had asked to be relieved of his assignment as U.S. ambassador to South Viet Nam and that the President was actively seeking a replacement.

On March 9 LBJ was asked about the *Times* report at a news conference. The transcript of that conference contains the following exchange:

Q. Mr. President, there are reports that Ambassador Lodge would like to be relieved of his post and that you are looking for a successor. Is there any truth to these reports?

A. No, there is no truth that I am looking for a successor.

On March 15, six days later, the President announced that Lodge was resigning as ambassador and that he would be replaced by veteran envoy Ellsworth Bunker.

Asked by angry newsmen to explain the President's March 9 assertion that there was "no truth" in the *Times* report, White House Press Secretary George Christian insisted that LBJ had told the truth. Christian explained with a straight face that the President was not looking for a successor, that he had already decided upon Bunker.

"And they wonder why there is a credibility gap," an exasperated reporter muttered as he left Christian's briefing.

The Bunker Appointment

Though Lodge's Viet Nam replacement, 72-year-old Ellsworth Bunker, has received cheers from the press, Diplomatic Row is not exactly elated with the choice. Bunker has the reputation of being something of an appeaser.

Indeed, the Washington *Post* stated the appointment of Bunker may signal a "subtle shift in American policy." One well-placed Vietnamese official, said the *Post*, felt Bunker "would understand what he called 'the Asian mind' and adopt a more flexible attitude toward Communists."

Latin American experts, also, say that Bunker favored leftists and Boschites when he became LBJ's special envoy in the 1965 Dominican crisis and that he was behind the policy of preventing a military victory over the left-wing rebels.

A coddler of neutralist Nehru when ambassador to India years ago, Bunker devised the formula in 1962 which wrested West New Guinea from Dutch control and handed it over to imperialist Indonesia, then ruled by Sukarno. Bunker offered his plan in the face of outspoken alarm by the native Papuan tribes who had a healthy fear of Sukarno's dictatorship.

Bunker's proposal to have the Dutch cede West New Guinea, which the Dutch accepted only after massive American pressure, including some arm twisting by Bobby Kennedy, represented such obvious obeisance to Sukarno's imperialist demands and military threats that the proposal rapidly became known in West New Guinea as the "Bongkar" plan (from the Indonesian word, meaning "to burglarize or break in"). Papuan leaders were so upset by Bunker's actions they sent telegrams to President Kennedy pleading not to be left to the mercy of Indonesia.

The hope along Diplomatic Row is that Bunker won't appease the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong the way he has other American adversaries in the past.

American POWs Denied Rights

As the Senate was ratifying the U.S.-Soviet consular pact last week on the grounds that the Communists are mellowing, a number of lawmakers, ironically, were reading an article in the *Army Information Digest* which revealed how the Reds in Viet Nam were violating the Geneva Conventions on the rights of prisoners of war.

Writing in the March issue of the *Digest*, Gen. James F. Collins (U.S.A.-Ret.), president of the American National Red Cross, reported that while U.S. military personnel were treating Communist prisoners in accord with those conventions, "the story on American prisoners held by the opposition continues to be bleak and negative."

Stressed Collins: "Neither North Viet Nam nor the Viet Cong will permit ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] delegates to interview captured Americans or inspect the camps in which they are being held. Nor will they agree to the traditional mail exchange and POW food package delivery."

Gen. Collins said a proposal was made last October by the executive committee of the League of Red Cross Societies urging that the Geneva Conventions be strictly observed and that a start be made in the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners, "but no favorable response was received."

A similar resolution, noted Collins, had been adopted in 1952 by the league's executive committee during the Korean conflict, and the exchange of sick and wounded, known as Operation Little Switch, took place months later.

The league's October 1966 resolution also was made part of the final communique issued by the Manila Conference last October 25, "and again there was no positive response from the other side." The American Red Cross, Collins stated, has repeatedly offered to "meet anywhere, at any time" with the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong representatives, but thus far it has been to no avail.

"Couldn't the American-Soviet consular agreement," asked one political observer, "have waited until the Soviets first saw to it that their Communist puppets in Viet Nam lived up to these prisoner of war agreements?"

Correction

• *Human Events* stated last week that Madame Oksana Kosenkina, a Ukrainian school teacher who escaped from the fifth floor of the Soviet consulate in New York in 1948 was still alive. Columnist Victor Lasky, however, informs us that Mme. Kosenkina died several years ago. Our apologies for the error.

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Newest 'Peace' Move

Dobrynin Invites Senators To Visit the Soviet Union

From the Allen-Scott Report

Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who voted to ratify the U.S.-Soviet consular treaty, are being invited to visit the Soviet Union.

The invitations are being extended by Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, who is personally contacting each member to urge him to make the trip.

As the principal attraction, the senators are being offered far-ranging guided tours of the Soviet Union, including a look at areas that have borders with Red China.

Sen. Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.), one of the first to accept the invitation, was told during his luncheon with Dobrynin that meetings with Soviet Premier Kosygin and other high Russian officials would be arranged.

Dobrynin, who can be seen almost daily at the Capitol, has informed other committee members that invitations will be extended during the year to all members of Congress who favor improved relations with the Soviet Union.

In his private talks with the senators, Dobrynin ruled out any exchange

Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin can be seen almost daily in the Capitol in Washington.

of visits between Kosygin and President Johnson until a settlement in Viet Nam is reached, stating:

"A meeting between President Johnson and Premier Kosygin presents too many problems while the war continues. Once there is a settlement, a meeting between our leaders will come naturally."

President Johnson invited Kosygin to visit the United States more than a year ago. However, there has been no formal reply from the Soviet leader, although Johnson has repeated the invitation in two other letters to Kosygin.

In their recent exchange of correspondence on missiles, Kosygin agreed to Cabinet-level talks with the U.S. on slowing down this race. There was no mention of Johnson's invitation in the Soviet leader's reply.

When one senator asked Dobrynin about the request of former Vice President Nixon to visit the Soviet Union, the Russian ambassador replied:

"Nixon will get his visa, but not much attention from my government."

★ ★ ★

The growing Viet Nam policy feud between President Johnson and Sen. Robert Kennedy is having its impact on military operations there.

Apparently sensitive to Sen. Kennedy's criticism of the bombing of North Viet Nam, the President has temporarily shelved an urgent request by the U.S. Military Command in Saigon for night bombing raids against the growing build-up of enemy forces north of the demilitarized zone.

Under the presently imposed tight White House restrictions, only daytime bombing attacks can be launched against North Viet Nam targets because of the Administration's growing concern about civilian casualties.

Authorization of radar-controlled night bombings, similar to those permitted in South Viet Nam, was requested by Gen. Westmoreland, commander of U.S. forces in Viet Nam, the day before Sen. Kennedy made his "halt-the-bombing" speech.

Westmoreland's appeal followed the movement of three new enemy divisions, including one armed with heavy Soviet rockets and mortars, into southern North Viet Nam. One battery of these rockets can hurl warheads the equivalent of eight-inch shells.

Since the lunar new year, most of these troops and their supplies have moved south under the cover of darkness, thus escaping U.S. day bombing attacks.

Because of the growing threat this build-up poses for U.S. troops near the demilitarized zone, Westmoreland contended that the night bombings are needed to disrupt this traffic and stop further reinforcements.

President Johnson authorized the use of naval guns and heavy artillery against these forces earlier this month. Approval of the night attacks was expected to come as the next step to try to blunt and disperse this threat.

After Kennedy made his Senate speech, however, the President, instead of acting on Westmoreland's request, sent it to the Joint Chiefs of Staff for "further review." In directing that this be done, President Johnson remarked: "I'll make a decision on this after the civil war with Bobby quiets down."

Introduced into the conflict 10 months ago, night bombing attacks were halted over North Viet Nam after New York *Times* correspondent Harrison Salisbury stirred up a furor over civilian casualties with his guided-tour reports from Hanoi.

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TAX-PAID PROPAGANDA?—"The President, in the State of the Union message, asked for additional funds for educational television in what appears to be a hidden desire to create a government-owned network for educational television—supposedly for 'a vital public resource to enrich our homes, educate our families, and to provide assistance in the classrooms.' My prediction is that if the government ever establishes a government-owned network of television, educational or otherwise, it will be used for propaganda purposes for the party in power, regardless of which party happens to be in the White House. Educational television does have, in my opinion, a very important role to play in our system of education, but certainly it does not follow that a government-owned network, which can be used for an Administration to perpetuate itself, is necessary."—Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.)

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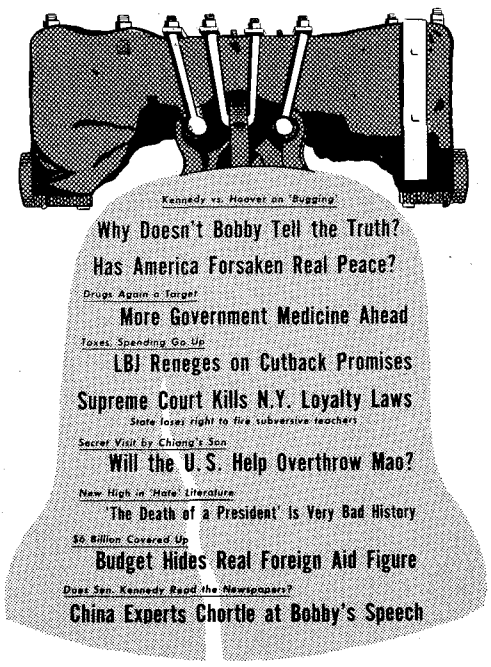

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Henry R. Luce, left, chats with columnist Raymond Moley in this 1937 photo. In the article below, John Chamberlain, who worked for Luce for years, gives thoughts about the late publisher.

Working for Harry Luce

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

It's been a terrible winter. So many good friends have died. First it was Bela Fabian, the Hungarian Freedom Fighter who could always be counted on to come up with some jarring facts to be set against any easy trust in "bridge building" to the Soviet East.

Then it was Frank Chodorov, who had been a little-known but nonetheless extremely important influence in turning college students in the early '60s to conservatism through his Intercollegiate Society of Individualists.

Then it was Bob Kiphuth, the Yale swimming coach who, out of his long background of travels, could talk such good sense about foreign affairs.

Then it was Wayne Smith, the publisher of the Meriden, Conn., papers, a prime example of small-city journalistic integrity.

And now it is Henry—or, less formally, Harry, as his friends called him—Luce, the creator of Time, Inc., for whom this columnist labored for some 15 years.

For better or worse, those of us who worked for Harry Luce were all his children. He had a way of forcing a writer to look at 13 sides of a problem.

I count it heavily in his favor that he saved me from hardening at an early age into the mold of a fashionable New York City liberal of the 1950s. I had gone to *Fortune* magazine after experience as a daily book reviewer in a publishing world dominated by fellow-travelers of the Communists. It was Eugene Lyons' "Red decade" in New York.

My first stories on *Fortune* were congenial, bearing on New Deal politics, the Nine Old Men of the Supreme Court, and other things of that nature. But Harry had a way of exposing the conventional liberals, whom he hired for their ability, to other influences.

I shortly found myself doomed, as I saw it then, to a period of doing corporation stories. "I'm so glad you're writing about the corps," said Harry. He knew that exposure to tycoons and technicians, to fields, factories and workshops out beyond the Appalachians, would work its magic in destroying New York stereotypes. And so it happened: when I observed, close up, a faction in a Detroit corporation conspiring against its own electrical trade association to promote competition, the notion that American businessmen were engaged in a universal monopolistic plot died a swift death.

The exasperating thing about Harry Luce was his indirection. China was always on his mind, and he was fond of quoting Chiang Kai-shek to the effect that where Western imperialism was a disease of the skin, communism itself was cancer.

But it was hard for a writer on *Fortune*, *Time* or *Life* to follow the "Luce line" on Asia for the reason that Harry was sometimes most devious in supporting his own innermost convictions. He let his Chungking correspondent, Theodore White, promote the image of Mao Tse-tung because his instinct as a journalist told him that Teddy was being a realist in his assessment of the coming balance of forces in Asia.

Luce came away from his own interview with Chou En-lai, the Red Chinese Mikoyan, with a feeling that communism couldn't be stopped in China.

One week, on a Tuesday, he assigned me to do an editorial for *Life* attacking George Marshall for trying to put together a coalition between Chiang Kai-shek and the Maoists. The idea was congenial to me, for no coalition with Communists has ever worked.

But on Friday Luce had a different idea: he wanted the editorial changed into a paean of praise for what the Marshall Plan had done to save Europe from communism, with a final paragraph devoted to suggesting that if only Marshall could find a way to save Asia he would go down in history as one of the greatest of Americans.

This 11th-hour shift in emphasis seemed pusillanimous of Luce at the time. But, meditating on it, I could see his reasoning. He wanted above everything to change Marshall's mind, and he knew that if he offended him by a straight-out attack he would never succeed in doing it.

I left Time, Inc., in the early '50s. Ten years later I went back to *Fortune* to write a history of America in terms of the development of its business. Luce had only one stipulation: that I mention, in a first chapter, that religious controversy had something to do with the founding of America. This was his way of suggesting that Christian voluntarism and free enterprise have had an intimate connection. Harry Luce could be enigmatic, but philosophically he was all of one piece.

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Sen. Church Would Give U.N. Control Over Oceans' Minerals

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Despite the fact that Bobby Kennedy has run off with the year's honors for bad advice, in view of his "stop the bombing" nonsense, there still is plenty of room for a distinguished runner-up.

I wish to nominate for that position one of Bobby's playmates in the Senate, Sen. Frank Church of Idaho.

Sen. Church, who moonlights as a delegate to the United Nations, has suggested, believe it or not, that the United Nations be given ownership of the oceans' mineral resources. This, the senator says, would give the United Nations a large and independent source of financing, free of the deadlocks that have developed so often in the past over paying for U.N. peacekeeping operations.

It is difficult to know where to begin in probing the depths of the flawed thinking that is the tidal source of Sen. Church's dead-serious suggestion.

For starters, let's examine the difficulty that prompts Church to seek a massive source of funds for the United Nations.

The major culprit in refusing to pay U.N. bills is the Soviet Union. The major culprit in causing the troubles that have required U.N. peacekeeping action is the Soviet Union.

Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho) wants to give the U.N. a source of income.

The only likely source of future troubles requiring U.N. action—legitimately, that is—is the Soviet Union or Communist China—or, say, just the Communists.

In short, the only actual and continuing threat to the peace is international communism. National problems, riots, disorders and social upheaval not associated with international communism can, to be sure, cause outbursts of violence, but not of the world-peace-threatening sort that is the natural consequence of communism's sheer military power.

Thus, Sen. Church must answer candidly whether he really feels he has done everything in his power to solve the Soviet problem, the Communist problem, the aggression problem before he worries about some weird way to replace the money Communist nations either won't pay or which they made necessary to spend in the first place.

Then there is the profoundly wrong thinking that would turn the floor of the ocean over to a single political body. Would the United Nations develop the ocean resources? If so, where would it get the capital to build its machines and so forth? If it leased the resources, how could it help but play international power politics with them?

The questions about the practical side of such a suggestion are endless. The single area of imagining a socialized ocean floor, destined to the sort of colossal flop that every other socialized area has been on this planet, is enough to keep an inquirer active for months.

But it is obvious that Church's suggestion falls into that never-never-land category of fantasy and foolishness that is the natural homeland of so many suggestions concerning the United Nations.

If the senator were from a coastal state, his constituents might suggest that he cease and desist. Even so, those of us who live inland are entitled to question his latest deep-blue plunge.

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Never Should Have Been Suspended

LBJ Makes Good Move in Restoring Investment Tax Credit

By HENRY HAZLITT

President Johnson is to be applauded for his courage and good sense in asking for a prompt restoration of the 7 per cent investment tax credit and of accelerated depreciation schedules.

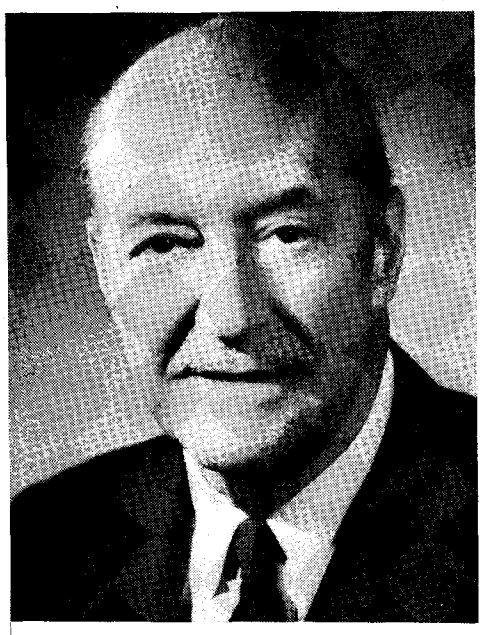
The tax credit should never have been suspended in the first place.

When the tax credit and accelerated depreciation were enacted in the Kennedy Administration, the purpose was to provide incentives for new corporate investment—or, to put it the other way around, to reduce the ill-advised tax deterrents to such investment that had previously existed.

The rate of national economic growth, of the increase in the productivity of business, of the increase in the real wages and welfare of the workers is directly determined by the rate of new investment.

The tax provisions which govern new investment and depreciation allowances should as far as possible remain fixed so that businessmen can rely on them and base their long-range plans on them.

It is a mistake from every angle to treat such tax provisions as a contracyclical device, a gadget to be tinkered with and turned on and off by government officials in efforts to speed up or slow down the economy. This substitutes the judgment of bureaucrats for the judgment of businessmen. It prevents businessmen from making intelligent, long-range plans for new investment and expansion. It introduces unnecessary uncertainty into their decisions.



Henry Hazlitt objects to substituting the judgment of bureaucrats for the judgment of businessmen.

Treating the tax investment credit as a contracyclical device involves the assumption that the bureaucrats will know just when to turn it on and when to turn it off. It is not an accident that the Johnson Administration is being criticized for "bad timing." Government officials can never apply "correct" timing unless they can predict the economic future for at least six months to a year ahead and know the exact dose of countermeasures needed. This is and will remain a matter of guesswork.

If it were in fact a proper function of government to reduce "inflationary spending," the spending that ought to be discouraged is that for luxury consumption, not the spending that directly increases the economy's power to produce.

The suspension of the 7 per cent investment credit last September by implication blamed the heavy spending on new investment as a cause of inflation. The truth is that this heavy investment was merely a consequence of inflation. As a result of inflation, corporations found a heavy and apparently growing demand for their products.

They found themselves with high margins of profit, both currently and in prospect. In addition, they figured that a new plant or machine built or bought immediately would cost less than a new plant or machine built or bought later.

It was the government's inflationary fiscal and monetary policies that caused last fall's investment boom. It is the resumption of these governmental policies of deficit spending and cheap money that now threatens a resumption of the inflation.

But the 7 per cent investment credit and accelerated depreciation are being restored, and that is a real gain. As a "contracyclical policy" it would be entirely inconsistent at this time to impose higher corporation and income taxes. But considering accelerated depreciation and balanced budgets both as merely sound long-term measures, it would not be at all inconsistent to start cutting back on the non-defense expenditures that are causing the budget deficits.

Instead of resorting to complicated gadgets to keep stabilizing the economy, the government need merely refrain from the policies that unstabilize it.

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Defense Adviser Wants Stepped-Up Air Attacks

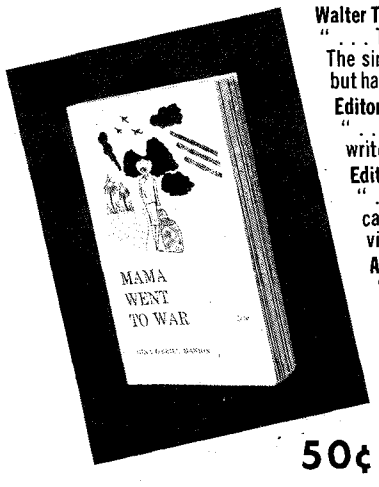
A top civilian adviser to Defense Secretary Robert McNamara charged last week that the United States was making a grave mistake by "constantly offering to negotiate" in Viet Nam.

Herman Kahn, founder and director of the Hudson Institute, a Pentagon-financed research center, suggested a major escalation of U.S. attacks on North Viet Nam.

"If the main purpose [of the bombing] is to put pressure on North Viet Nam to back down," he said, "then it is being done very badly."

Kahn said the U.S. bombing raids have been "stepped up in a very gradual way that has looked very controlled to almost everyone," adding, "It looks as if our strategists are following a book. And if you are using escalation as a pressure tactic, you should not look as though you've read a book. It reassures the opponent."

Kahn endorsed a "sharp, potentially uncontrollable increase in threat which might raise anxieties about points of no return."



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This little 82-page paperback is the fascinating saga of the 25,000 mile journey Mrs. Manion and her husband, Dean Clarence Manion (Manion Forum) made last summer to visit their son, Dan, fighting with the U.S. Army in Viet Nam.

Walter Trohan, Chicago Tribune, Dec. 26, 1966
" . . . The book is more than an interesting and entertaining travelog. . . . The simplicity of it tugs at one's heartstrings. . . . The tale isn't a polemic, but hard facts creep in."

Editorial, Chicago Tribune, Jan. 8, 1967
" . . . The only people in Viet Nam profiting from the war", Mrs. Manion writes, "are the French."

Editorial, Indianapolis News, Dec. 24, 1966
" . . . Mrs. Manion's book should find an eager audience among Americans whose thoughts are with the men performing such a trying and vital service in the cause of human freedom."

Ashville Citizen-Times, Oct. 23, 1966
"The last thing Danny said when we left Saigon was, 'I think I'm the only man in Viet Nam who has been visited by both his parents.' It all started when Danny (Lt. Daniel A. Manion in Tuy Hoa) wrote and asked that I send him his old duffel bag."

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This is the Ultimate Shaver—we think this is the finest shaver made in the world today. Cordless or otherwise. In our opinion it makes all others obsolete. Here, for your consideration, are the principal reasons why we believe the ACCUMEN to be "the ultimate".

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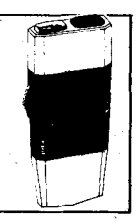

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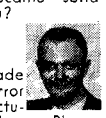

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Truly outstanding—beats anything made in this country. I never even use a mirror with the ACCUMEN, because I can actually **hear** when I have a perfect shave. Please send two additional shavers as gifts to friends.

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I am very pleased with the ACCUMEN. It is all you claim it to be and much more. I have recommended it to all my friends. You may count me as a loyal user.

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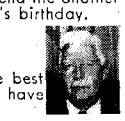
Please send me another ACCUMEN Shaver. This is the third one I have ordered — my friends seem to like them too much. If this keeps up I might become your East Coast representative.

Robert Buckner, 818 N. Doheny Drive, Los Angeles 69, California
There is only one word for the ACCUMEN—"superb". Please send me another one. I want it for my son's birthday.



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The Case for Republican Negativism

'Constructive alternatives' is a catchy phrase, but principle is more important

By M. STANTON EVANS

The liberal media, always deeply concerned about the Republican party until it comes time for Republican candidates to get elected, have pretty well decided what the GOP stance should be for 1968.

According to such authorities as Roscoe Drummond, Walter Lippmann and Emmet John Hughes, the Republican party's only hope for survival rests in being "constructive." The GOP cannot hope to win elections, say these commentators, unless it counters Democratic programs for dealing with such matters as poverty and urban blight with "constructive alternatives."

Journalist Drummond warns, for example, that the Republicans cannot afford a "do-nothing" strategy, that they have "powerful and practical reasons for not getting trapped in a negative alliance with the Southern Democrats" and that for the GOP to do otherwise than offer various alternatives to Democratic proposals would be "a politically self-defeating mistake."

In the same vein, the left-wing Republican Ripon Society states: "There is *no* future in calling for wholesale repeal of major items of 'Great Society' legislation. . . . Progressive Republicans must themselves join in the search for sensible and efficient answers. The American people sense that the 'War on Poverty,' crime, disease, illness and illiteracy is moving in the right direction. They will respect honest action more than poorly conceived and administered 'legislative solutions' such as the rent subsidy bill, or mere negative partisan criticism."

Three Fallacies Involved

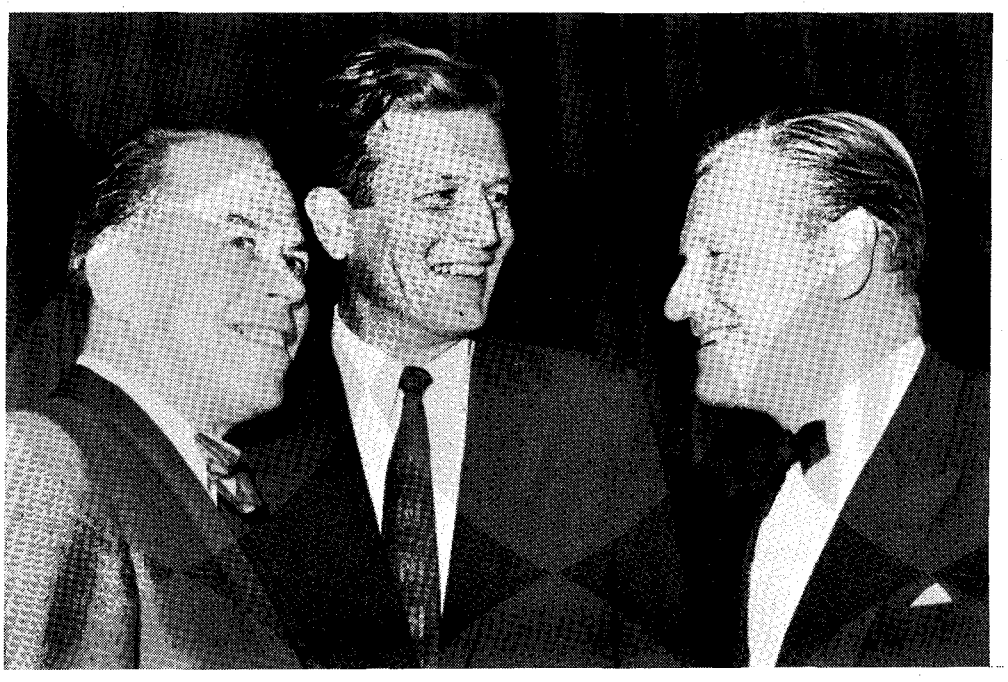
Among Republicans who accept the "constructive" argument, we may of course begin by counting such spokesmen as Nelson Rockefeller, George Romney, Jacob Javits, Hugh Scott and John Lindsay. These are "constructivists" par excellence, and would never dream of letting a Democratic proposal for increased big government go by without either endorsing it or coming up with a Republican counter-proposal. All of which is more or less to be expected. Somewhat more disturbing are signs that the "constructive" approach is working its way into the bones of more sensible Republicans as well. Being "positive" is, for example, a major theme of Republican National Chairman Ray Bliss, and has turned up from time to time in the actions and utterances of GOP congressional leaders Everett Dirksen and Gerald Ford.

To date there is no evidence this approach has done the Republican party any good, and a great deal of evidence that it has worked the party harm. If the "constructiveness" argument is pursued much further and becomes established deeply enough in the thinking of enough Republicans, it could spell the doom of the Republican party.

There are three essential fallacies intertwined in this view of the political process—one moral, one intellectual and one political.

Most important, perhaps, the "constructive" tack is hostile to all considerations of principle. It argues that the GOP must mould its policies in emulation of the Democrats because this is the way to get votes—although, as we shall note presently, it does not in fact accomplish that objective—and that the party must at all costs avoid the appearance of being "negative."

But it is the nature of principles to make negation, in certain circumstances, necessary. Principles automatically make us turn up being "against" things which violate the principles. Continuing affirmation of things simply because they seem to be popular is possible only if principles are abandoned.



"Constructive" Republicans such as Sen. Tom Kuchel (Calif.), New York Mayor John Lindsay and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller often take the position that every Democratic proposal must be met with a GOP counter-proposal.

According to the "constructive" argument, it is not sufficient for Republicans to oppose Democratic schemes for enlarging governmental domination of the private economy. When the Democrats propose to extend subsidy A accompanied by control B, the Republicans cannot simply mobilize to vote it down; they must instead counter by offering subsidy C plus control D. To propose no subsidy at all is "negative." The Republicans must have a subsidy of their own to meet every subsidy proposed by the Democratic opposition. Which means that principle is forgotten and that there is really no reason left for opposing the Democratic subsidy itself.

The fallacy of this view may be suggested by pushing it to its pre-ordained conclusion. The logical extension of the argument is that when a bank robbery is under way, it is "negative" for the police to interfere and bring the proceedings to a halt. To protect their "image," the police should have a constructive alternative ready—perhaps siphoning off the money through embezzlement, hitting three little banks instead of one big one, or maybe knocking over a series of gas stations. Otherwise, the police are simply saying "no" without suggesting how the particular bank job in question ought to be done.

The point, of course, is that the bank job shouldn't be done at all, because it is wrong, period. *The "alternative" is the peaceful state of affairs that exists in the absence of it.*

Precisely the same holds true for the myriad schemes proposed each year for raiding the public treasury, buying votes with the taxpayer's money, and transmuting America into a collectivist society. There is nothing "constructive" about offering a laundered version of this demagogy as an alternative to a more blatant version of it. The right course is to oppose such things because they are wrong, not to invent some half-wrong to put in their place.

Almost as blatant as the ethical confusions of the "constructive" argument are the verbal confusions. Determination of who is "against" or "for" something is, after all, purely subjective. Every political program is both "for" some things and "against" others. The important question is *what*—what it is for, and what it is against.

What the Republican party should in fact be "for" is clear enough on the record: It is "for" the American Constitution, limited government, maximum individual freedom, the right to own and dispose of property, to earn good wages in the free market and to enjoy the fruits of one's labor, to be secure in home and person against the depredations of criminals, to have the best possible defense against foreign enemies that ingenuity can devise and treasure can sustain, and so forth.

These are the hallmark principles of the Republican party. Anyone who is "for" them is, *per contra,* "against" big government, collectivism, rampageous inflation, high taxes, price and wage controls, wasted revenues, destruction of property rights, the sentimentalizing of hoodlums, retreat and conciliation before the onslaught of international communism.

'For-Against' Absurdity

It is precisely this kind of opposition to the liberal default—opposition which follows necessarily from Republican belief in the things the party historically is "for"—which has brought down on the GOP the charge of "negativism." If the party accepts and acts upon that criticism, and comes to believe that contesting liberal schemes is not "constructive," then it will in fact abandon its own affirmative principles.

To accept the opposition's definition of what is desirable and what is not is to give up the battle before it begins.

The absurdity of the whole "for-against" argument may be suggested if we apply it to some rather obvious examples. Adolph Hitler was "for" the persecution of the Jews; Joseph Stalin was "for" the liquidation of the Kulaks; Al Capone was "for" the plunder of his fellow man. George Washington, on the other hand, was "against" subjection to arbitrary British rule; Abraham Lincoln was "against" dismemberment of the Union; J. Edgar Hoover is "against" crime and subversion.

Does this mean Hitler, Stalin and Capone are good, while Washington, Lincoln and Hoover are bad? Obviously not. The significant question in each case is not the mere fact of being "positive" or "negative," but the substance of the thing you are positive or negative about. To be "for" bad things is wrong, to be "against" bad things is right.

The particular danger of the "constructive" argument is that it passes over this very question; it demands that the Republican party omit substantive evaluation of issues and simply determine it is going to be "for" whatever the Democrats happen to be "for." It demands that the GOP abandon its own analytical framework and accept that of the opposition.

This means the Democrats will have the exclusive privilege of defining the "problems" to be handled by appropriate political action. They will continue to zero in on various asserted deficiencies of the free enterprise system and demand bigger and better government programs by way of "solution." The Republican party, having foresworn its own analysis of the nation's difficulties, will be required to accept the reality of these "problems" and to reinforce the liberal attack on the private market economy.

By this method, the GOP becomes a prisoner of liberal rhetoric. Having accepted the Democratic argument that the really pressing problems of the day are urban blight, air pollution, or poor housing, it is in no position to say that the asserted Democratic "solutions" are themselves problems—and that the liberal program of subsidies, controls, taxes, inflation and so forth are evils to be combatted.

To put forward the latter view, indeed, is the very essence of "negativism." It is to identify liberalism itself as the major problem confronting the nation—than which there is nothing more negative.

To be "constructive," one must say yes to liberalism and stop opposing it. Which means the end result of the whole positive-negative argument is to convert the Republican party from an opponent of liberalism into a pliable ally.

The virtue of this development from the Democratic point of view is self-evident. If the Republicans buy the "constructive" argument, the liberals are home free. The fallacies and failures of big government will be exempt from criticism. Rather than attacking Democratic programs, the Republicans will spend all their time trying to dream up "constructive alternatives," and the public will seldom if ever hear about the immense disservices committed against it by the continued encroachments of the welfare state.

Proponents of "constructiveness" may, when challenged, grant the deficiencies of their argument in terms of principle. But, they suggest, such an approach is required if the Republican party is to enjoy any kind of political success. It

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is impossible for the GOP to win legislative battles, public support, or national elections, they tell us, without projecting the proper "positive" image.

The facts of the case suggest that "constructiveness" fails on this count, too. The track record in Congress indicates that whenever the Republican party has acted on these premises it has maneuvered itself into heavy trouble; whereas by taking an appropriately "negative" stance it has engineered some very handsome victories.

In the 89th Congress, for example, the GOP was confronted by a renewed Democratic drive for the enactment of Medicare. Despite the demonstrated fact that such a program was not needed, that it would be highly expensive, and that it would intrude more government control into private sectors of American life, the GOP decided not to take a "negative" approach. Instead, the party worked very hard to come up with a "constructive alternative" by devising its own Medicare program.

The result of this effort was that the Democrats freely borrowed those features of the Republican proposal which suited their taste, grafted them to their own design (thereby jacking up the total cost of the program), and enacted the whole thing. Medicare was on the books, the tax burden was increased, a needless government operation came into being, the medical profession was marched several steps closer to governmental domination, and the GOP was left high and dry without even an issue to take to the electorate.

Indeed, since the Medicare program contained several Republican-sponsored features (in addition to rather than in place of the Democratic ones), various Republicans were in part responsible for it. And since no effective campaign of opposition had been mounted, the GOP did not even have an "I told you so" to present to the voters when the program began—almost immediately—to malfunction. The Democrats reaped all the benefits of having enacted a giveaway scheme, and were totally exempt from Republican criticism for its deficiencies. It was as perfect a case of "heads I win, tails you lose" as had ever come before Congress.

Contrast with this the splendid job the Republican leadership in the Senate did on the question of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, which permits states to enact right-to-work laws. In this episode, with the Democrats demanding that the clause be repealed, the GOP was theoretically in the same verbal bind as in most other cases: Since it was "for" freedom, it was necessarily "against" the Johnson regime's repealer effort: It was hopelessly "negative."

14b Was Important Battle

Undaunted by that fact, Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) twice led filibuster efforts in the Senate which were supported by a majority of the voting members of that body, and knocked the repealer dead. The GOP, being "against" federally imposed compulsory unionism, conducted an intensive and highly educational "negative" campaign, drew many Democratic senators to its cause, and, by every available measure, elicited strong support from a majority of the American people.

Sen. Dirksen, in the case of 14b, won an important legislative battle, scored points on the opposition and handed the Republican party an issue—all because he had the audacity to utter a simple "no" and to stand by it when the pressures were turned on. By making clear the evil of the thing he was being negative *about*, he turned his negation into a political asset.

The "constructive" argument about winning elections is less convincing still. Nothing is more provably erroneous than the idea that the GOP must have "answers" to Democratically defined problems in order to get votes. Who in fact says the GOP must have "answers"? Do any polls or surveys reflect this fact? Do any recent election results reflect it? Does political history support it?

The answer in each case is a resounding "no." There is no evidence at all that counter-proposals, "alternatives" to the opposition's programs, or even being "positive" per se wins elections. It would be closer to some obvious truths of politics if this whole formula were simply turned inside out.

Perhaps the best-established fact of political life in America is that people vote "against" much more than they

Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), by taking a strong negative position on Section 14b, scored a significant victory for the GOP.

vote "for." And the most successful political candidates are not those who succeed in *pro*posing things but who do the best job of *op*posing other things. Think back over recent elections in American history: were they determined by people voting for something, or against something else?

In 1966, what was the universal conclusion emerging from the GOP coast-to-coast sweep? That the Republicans had successfully projected "counter-proposals" to what the Johnson Administration was doing? Not at all. The GOP presentation from Edward Brooke to Ronald Reagan was so immensely varied that it would have been difficult to name any counter-proposal on which the various Republicans could have agreed. The common element in all their victories was the fact that they capitalized on national feeling *against* the Johnson Administration.

Or go back to '64, when the Republicans lost so heavily and the Democrats swept into power. Did Lyndon Johnson win that election because he was "positive," spelling out concrete proposals for dealing with American problems? Quite the contrary. Johnson won because he succeeded in mounting a successful fear campaign *against* Barry Goldwater.

The case was somewhat similar in 1960—granted differences of personality and circumstance. What "positive" proposals did John Kennedy bring forward in that campaign? What were his "alternatives" to the program of the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration? Nobody knew. The Kennedy strategy was to attack, attack, attack; to declare he was "not satisfied" with the American performance of the '50s, and to capitalize on a general feeling of unease which militated *against* the Republicans.

In none of these elections did "constructive alternatives" play a part. At best a general mood or impression of being "positive" served, in each of them, to forestall the opposition's own negative attack; but even in this tactical sense it is doubtful "constructiveness" packs much political muscle.

The real job of stirring up the voters and winning elections depends chiefly upon the politician's effectiveness in mounting a negative attack against his opposition.

Seen in this light, the Republican failure over the past 30 years or so of Democratic ascendancy has in fact been a failure to make its "negativism" prevail over the Democrats' "negativism." The Democrats have conducted a successful fear campaign against Republicans as heartless ogres, tools of "economic royalists," witch-hunters, Social Security destroyers and, of late, nuclear irresponsibles. With the help of the liberal media, the Democrats have been able to pound these ideas home and to concentrate popular fears and resentments on the alleged evil of the Republicans.

In part, the present concentration on "constructiveness" is an effort by certain Republicans to dig themselves out of this hole. If only we are positive enough about enough things—so the thinking runs—we can demonstrate that we are not economic royalists, heartless enemies of the poor and tools of Wall Street.

But, unfortunately, it doesn't work that way. By assuming this defensive stance, the Republicans actually tend to confirm the Democratic indictment. The man who keeps protesting I am *not* heartless, I am *not* an enemy of the poor, I am *not* a nuclear maniac, is unconvincing. His very denials keep recalling the original charge, and his urgent effort to prove he isn't a monster raises doubts about his sincerity. He is in the position of Hamlet's mother, who by protesting too much, confirmed the suspicions she sought to deny.

It was this fatal logic of the defensive which ravaged the Goldwater campaign of 1964; the Democrats having sold the idea that Goldwater wanted nuclear war, nothing he said to the contrary could ease the public mind. He had only to open his mouth to protest and the very mention of the word nuclear called up the gut-fear of him the Democrats (and a number of "constructive" Republicans) had so successfully implanted.

The Goldwater nuclear business is an extreme case, and it is doubtful any-

House Minority Leader Gerald Ford's new GOP congressmen were largely elected on an "anti-LBJ" campaign.

thing Goldwater could have done would have been capable of reversing the damage he had suffered. In the more general situation of the Republican party, however, the episode is sufficiently instructive. It is equally unlikely that the party can deny its way out of the indictment of cruelty and indifference to the poor, no matter how many "constructive alternatives" it comes up with.

The proper way of handling this problem—technically, if not morally—was exhibited by the Johnson campaign of '64. Johnson had many negative elements going against him, too. He was not viewed as a particularly trustworthy President; there were some doubts, subsequently much enlarged, about his handling of the Vietnamese war; there was the Bobby Baker mess; and, finally, there was Walter Jenkins. Any one of these elements, in some other election, might have been enough to cause him considerable trouble.

But Johnson emphatically did not set about to deny or disprove these negative elements. He simply ignored them. Rather than trying to prove he was *not* corrupt, that he was *not* botching the fighting in Viet Nam, that he was *not* involved in the Baker mess, he passed over to the offensive. He and other Democratic campaigners succeeded in hitting Goldwater so hard on the nuclear and Social Security issues that public anxiety on these two points dwarfed everything else.

The electorate ended up, in November 1964, voting *against* Goldwater rather than *for* Johnson. The Democrats had made their negative presentation more insistently and more effectively than the Republicans had made theirs. It was not a case of the positive overcoming the negative, but of one negative overcoming another.

For Republicans, the indicated guidelines to success should be clear: If they are going to win elections, they will have to make their negative presentation superior to that of the Democrats: they must make their version of the bad things that will happen to the country under Democratic rule prevail over the Democrats' version of the bad things that will happen to the country under Republican rule.

How can this be done? There are no easy answers, and the problem is enormously complicated for Republicans by the hostility of so many of the media. The GOP cannot count on *Look*, *Newsweek*, the *Saturday Evening Post* or the TV networks to exploit and hammer home fears against the Democrats in the same way these spokesmen operated against Goldwater. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe the job can be accomplished.

GOP Can Win in '68

As the 1966 elections demonstrated, there are plenty of negative materials against the Johnson regime which can be exploited by the Republicans. The public is concerned about Viet Nam, about inflation, about crime, and about the encroachments of big government on various aspects of American life. Surveys by Gallup and Louis Harris confirm that the people are concerned "negatively" about all these things.

In 1966 the Republicans made considerable headway precisely because they took a "negative" stance on these issues; Johnson, without any single ogre on whom to concentrate his counter-attack, took a "positive" stance, arguing that the people never had it so good. The negative position won going away at the tape. There is no reason the same result could not be repeated in 1968. If the Republicans succeed in hammering away at these negative points—amply demonstrated to be major national concerns—they can win the presidency.

Two things, however, could stand in the way of this outcome: (1) If the Republicans again get in a bind in which the Democrats can superimpose other more powerful fears over demonstrated public anxieties about crime, Viet Nam and inflation; and (2) If the Republicans convince themselves they should *not* go on the attack, but should adopt a "constructive" approach, exempting the Democrats from criticism.

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Exploding Some Myths About Education

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

Voltaire had some wise words about the importance of cultivating one's garden, and in my line of work it's especially vital. Every so often it's a good idea to turf out some of the particularly obnoxious weeds which masquerade as sweet-smelling violets in the garden of education.

Here are a few of the tares and thistles, currently manured with the compost of collectivism, cross-pollinated by the assiduous spreaders of the Gospel According to St. John Dewey and flowering all over the place in the pious platitudes and corny cliches so dear to some members of my profession.

All of them, incidentally, are as phony as a Peking peace feeler. Recognize them?

1. "Education has become too important to be left any longer to the states and to the local school districts. The energizing influence and infinitely richer resources of the federal government must be brought increasingly into the educational picture."

This is a jabberwocky way of saying "Big Brother wants Junior."

As you hear increasingly during the months and years ahead about "federal goals for education," "national educational compacts," "establishment of nationwide educational standards" and other clackings of the same ilk, just bear in mind the saying above. In the long run, they all boil down to this:

Big Brother wants Junior. And the younger the better.

Local grass-roots education needs to be energized, modernized and personalized, true enough. It does *not* need to be subsidized, nepotized and zombieized, at least not by Uncle Sam in his favorite "Great Society" role as Mr. Fix-It.

2. "A racially integrated school is a better school than a segregated school."

As Gershwin once said about someting else, "It ain't necessarily so." All other things being equal, yes. Things like good teachers, interesting books, challenging curriculum and decent facilities, for example. If both schools are getting the same break insofar as these prime essentials are concerned, then certainly the integrated one is better.

But if School No. 1 has any or all of these things, and if School No. 2 doesn't, then all bets are off. You can integrate No. 2 right down to the last perfectly balanced computer decimal place and it will still be an educational lemon as compared to No. 1.

3. "The school exists to make the child an adjusted, accepted member of his peer group."

Nope. As I've said somewhere before, the school exists to make him learned. Period.

4. "The solution to present-day school problems lies in constructing huge, elaborately planned educational parks or plazas in centralized locations and bussing the children to them from miles away."

Certainly. That is, if you want your kids to go to school in a far-off educational factory where they will be schooled scientifically by trained and kindly experts without any ignorant, bumbling interference from little old you.

But if you are carpingly small-minded enough to want Susie to get her schooling where you can have some kind of a say in what that schooling is going to be—if you hanker to visit the teacher once in a while, or even if you just want to be able to get hold of Susie fast in case of an emergency—then you'd better hang onto your humdrum little neighborhood school, despite the fact that it's rapidly getting to be a naughty word in some sociological circles.

And if one of our educational bureaucrats, resplendently sent among us from his Washington superiors to convert the heathen out in the hinterland, tells you with that air of insufferable condescension which is the badge and hallmark of his tribe that the neighborhood school is relatively inefficient compared to his precious educational "plaza," inform him that a democracy is relatively inefficient, too, compared to any well-run ant hill, beehive or Hitlerian dictatorship.

Then look him straight in the eye and ask "So what?"

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TWO VITAL BOOKS TELLING THE TRUTH ABOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA

The American-Southern Africa Council proudly presents two outstanding new books on Rhodesia and South Africa which reveal the hypocrisy of the United Nations and the Johnson Administration's Africa policy.

THE BATTLE FOR RHODESIA

By Douglas Reed

Written in Rhodesia by the renowned British (now South African) author of *Insanity Fair,* this new book has passed through five printings in South Africa in four months and states that the battle for independence being waged by Rhodesia is essentially our own battle. In this new American edition the author includes a message to the American people and a special interview with Prime Minister Ian D. Smith. It discusses the vital interest of the free world in the survival of the Western, anti-Communist governments of Southern Africa.

Douglas Reed writes: "It is simple enough, a mathematical calculation. Rhodesia means you, from Whitehall to Washington, Wisconsin to Worcestershire, Los Angeles to Wilmington and Winnipeg, and you cannot escape it. Rhodesia is no distant, isolated African episode: it reaches into your very home, however far away you may be."

• Douglas Reed, who accurately predicted the outbreak of World War II, has issued a warning that the seeds of a third global conflict are being sown in Rhodesia by the United Nations, or "Benighted Nations" as he calls it. Chicago Tribune

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ONE AGAINST THE MOB

By Anthony Harrigan

This new book by the editor of the Charleston News and Courier whose previous books include *Red Star Over Africa* and *Guide to the War in Viet Nam* deals with how U.S.-U.N. meddling in Rhodesia may cause another war and our grim stake in Rhodesia's ordeal of independence. This book brings you a new perspective of a progressive, hardworking, liberty-loving people and a clear focus on the central issues . . . richly illustrated with over 60 photos! A clear case for Rhodesian independence.

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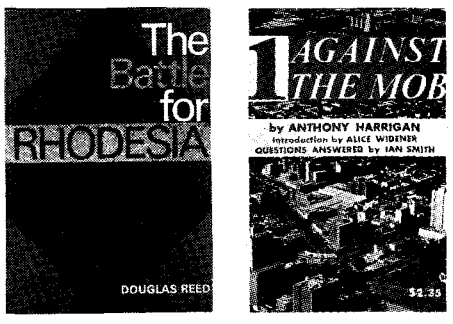

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Few Poverty Probe Results

From the Allen-Scott Report

Anti-poverty director Sargent Shriver and his lieutenants are spending millions trying to find out what is wrong with the widely controversial program—apparently with few tangible results.

According to the latest available official figures, as of June 30, 1966, the Office of Economic Opportunity, which administers the anti-poverty program, had spent $7,788,365 on scores of studies, analyses, assessments, inquiries and various other surveys—none of which appear to get at the real problems of poverty, such as training the unemployed and providing jobs for them.

This $7,788,365 expenditure was out of approximately $2.3 billion voted by Congress for OEO up to that date.

Unofficial and incomplete compilations for the current fiscal year indicate the rate of spending for this costly self-examination is running even greater. OEO's budget for this fiscal year is $1.612 billion—making a total of more than $3.9 billion since 1964 when this "Great Society" program was launched.

Very little is known publicly about this multi-million-dollar aspect of OEO operations. OEO officials have said nothing about it, and the reports of these studies are not published.

Congressional authorities in charge of anti-poverty legislation only recently have begun digging into this matter. They are uncovering much pay-dirt.

Foremost among their findings is that a large percentage of these surveys and evaluations have all the earmarks of being boondoggles: funds dished out solely for the purpose of providing certain individuals, concerns, organizations and colleges with projects.

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Bethel Says Missiles Are Still in Cuba

The Senate Internal Security subcommittee last week heard testimony from a number of different witnesses who said that long-range ballistic missiles, manned by the Soviets, are still in Cuba.

Paul Bethel, a former foreign service officer who was attached to the American embassy in Havana when Fidel Castro seized control, said he had "completely credible" eye-witness accounts from more than 60 exiles concerning the recent movements in Cuba of missiles with ranges of up to 1,500 miles.

Bethel told senators that this information could upset the Administration-desired detente with communism, but that Miami intelligence agents, acting under instructions from Washington, have used a combination of threats and bribes to pressure Cuban refugees into silence about those huge ballistic missiles.

Bethel is now a director of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, which includes such distinguished members as Adm. Arleigh Burke, Clare Boothe Luce and Brig. Gen. S. L. A. Marshall.

The subcommittee heard Cuban witnesses say that five Russian missile experts, two holding the rank of general, arrived in Cuba last November.

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War Is Being Lost in Washington, Not Viet Nam

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Turn your eyes away from the clamor about bombing North Viet Nam. That is a straw man to divert your attention from the vital question. Focus your eyes on South Viet Nam.

There our young infantrymen prowl the border areas in quest of the Viet Cong. Suddenly a company is ambushed. Then, as the battalion brings its superior fire power to bear on the Viet Cong, his forces melt away in the jungle. No pursuit is possible because the Viet Cong have only to step across the border to the sanctuary of Laos or Cambodia.

In this fight, the initiative rests entirely with the enemy. He picks the target, prepares the plan, launches the surprise attack and withdraws when the advantage swings to the American side.

This is the worst kind of warfare. All the advantages are stacked in favor of the enemy. He has a secure line of communications which our men are not allowed to attack. Our men must fight frontal warfare against a well-supplied enemy who can attack without warning from a secure sanctuary.

The conventional aim of battle is to sever the enemy line of communications. As the battle then consumes his food and ammunition, he must surrender. Thus, the battle is ended quickly with minimum bloodshed on both sides.

But not in South Viet Nam. There the President has decreed that our forces may not attack the enemy lifeline.

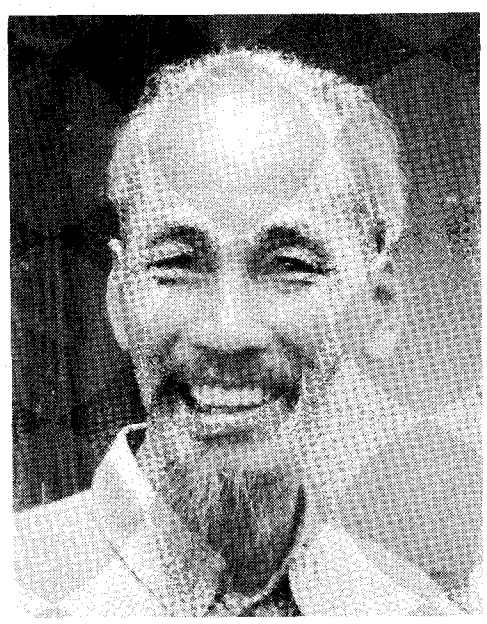
Picture the scene. Our units patrol the jungle border. The enemy may cross the border and attack our forces at will; but our forces may not cross the border to attack the enemy. The Communists have set up a perfect arrangement for slaughtering Americans.

This is not war. The Communists are trapshooting from a secure sanctuary and our men are the clay pigeons. Who has persuaded President Johnson to commit our fighting men under such rules?

When the Communists cross the border to attack our forces, we have every moral and legal right to cross the border and destroy their forces. The President has a solemn duty as commander-in-chief to allow his men those rights of self-defense which he presently denies them.

With our superior fire power and mobility, our forces would clean out the enemy nests in 90 days. The war would be over, because Ho Chi Minh cannot fight without his sanctuary. He can trapshoot for a secure sanctuary, he can terrorize defenseless peasants, but he can't fight modern warfare.

It is entirely false to contend that our modern infantry cannot contend with guerrilla warfare. It is the sanctuary accorded by our own government which prevents the defeat of the enemy in Viet Nam.



Ho Chi Minh cannot fight without his sanctuaries.

Thus, the presidential policy causes the slaughter of our men in battle, opens the people of South Viet Nam to endless terror waged from the sanctuaries, undermines world respect for the United States and exalts Communist prestige for its successful defiance of U.S. power.

This is the central error of U.S. policy in Viet Nam. The Soviet Union asserts that Communist aggression against a free country must be tolerated, but if the free nation counterattacks against the aggressor, world war will ensue. President Johnson abides that clearly untenable thesis. Under such a rule, the ultimate Communist conquest of the free world is assured.

The international furor about bombing distracts attention from the presidential refusal to allow our forces to strike back against the forces which are attacking them. This is the critical decision which has invited and supported the Communist aggression. It is an unconscionable posture for an American President to support. It must be changed.

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Who Pays?

From *Nation's Business*

"We're retreating from the 'War on Poverty' to fight a faraway war in Viet Nam."

"The poor are being forced to pay for the war."

So moan the self-proclaimed spokesmen for the poor.

Those who seek the truth, however, find that government spending to help America's destitute still flows freely. Federal outlays—from relief payments to food stamps to Job Corps—will total about $25 billion a year. Many billions more come from state, local and private sources. Much more money than the war has cost.

The Administration has asked for a 16 per cent increase for the impoverished in the new budget.

Who really is paying for both war and peace? Hard-working and patriotic individuals and businesses through the progressive income tax, of course. The more income you have the more tax you pay.

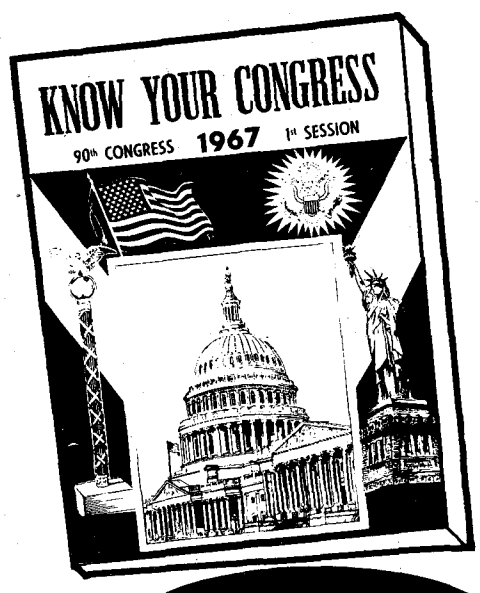
Less than 2 per cent of taxable income comes from those with income under $3,000—the poverty bracket. And their average tax is not much more than the cost of a daily pack of cigarettes or bottle of beer. Hardly a sacrifice.

And millions pay no income tax at all.

Moreover, under the Administration's proposed tax increase, the poor would be excluded completely.

No, the poor don't pay for war. But the rest of us do, and willingly, to protect all our freedoms, including the freedom of the uninformed to gripe.

BETTY FURNESS is President Johnson's assistant for consumer affairs. At today's prices most consumers can't afford to have any.—By Jack Wilson in the Washington *Post*



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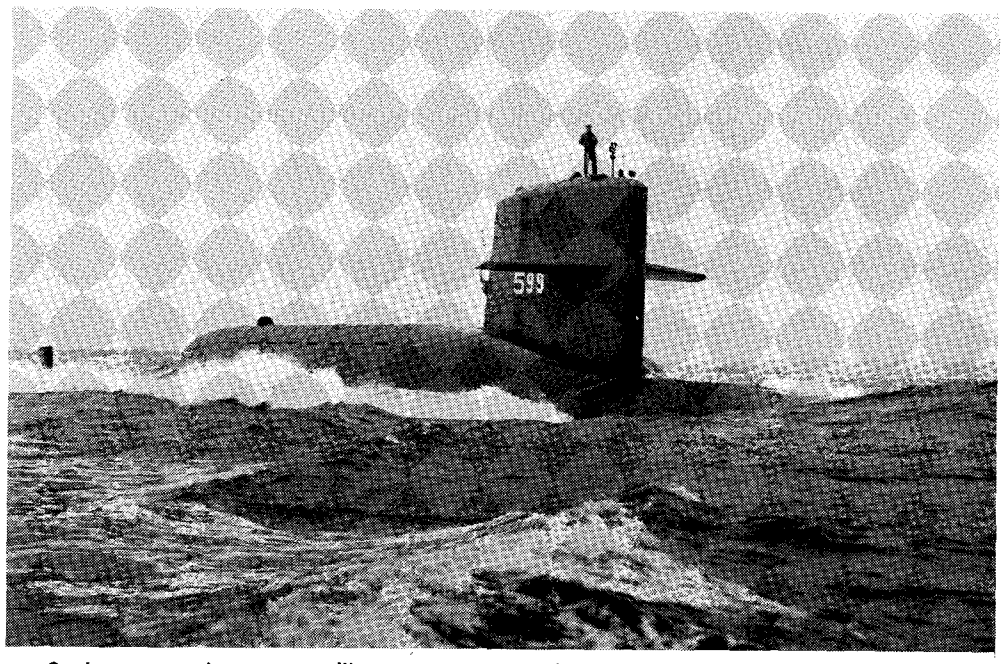

Soviet reconnaissance satellites can now pinpoint our Polaris submarines, thus reducing their effectiveness. Above, the USS Patrick Henry.

Story Finally Released

Why Air Force Association Opposed the Test-Ban Treaty

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

In a fit of Kennedy Administration pique, the then Air Force Secretary Zuckert refused to attend a reception in his honor at the Air Force Association Convention of that year—1963. The secretary backed out, undoubtedly under White House orders, because the convention had found "unacceptable risks" in the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and said so by resolution.

Now, nearly four years later, the Air Force Association's official magazine, *Air Force and Space Digest,* gives reasons for the adamancy against the treaty—reasons spelled out in considerable scientific detail, reasons that should rock the President and defense secretary back on their collective heels.

The magazine piece does not say in so many words what is said above. But I have learned that the feature article of the March issue is considered a now-it-can-be-told explanation of why this important military organization would not endorse the treaty. Written by Technical Editor J. S. (Sam) Butz Jr., the article makes revelations so astounding that no other adjective will suffice.

It turns out that the Test Ban Treaty, on which President Kennedy staked his claim to surpass Woodrow Wilson as a peace-seeker, was just about the most untimely pact ever negotiated. It turns out that Secretary McNamara has made—and persisted in—a miscalculation that reduces our supposed 3-to-1 missile superiority to a question mark.

It turns out that the USSR's above-ground experiments with nuclear weapons in the 100-megaton class make Russia the only nation with the practical knowledge to render itself virtually missile-proof. By one set of calculations, Soviet missile-defense potential is 1,000 times more impenetrable than originally predicted when the treaty went into effect.

At the time of the treaty a good many scientists and technologists refused to dope themselves by smoking the wishful pipes of peace. They declared against any ban on atmospheric testing at a time when Russia had experience in multi-megaton testing and we did not. Dr. Edward Teller eloquently summarized:

"This treaty is directed against knowledge, our knowledge . . . the Russians in my opinion are already ahead. . . . I am worried about the United States becoming a second-class power. . . ."

The *Air Force and Space Digest* tells how onrushing technology is tipping the scales of strategic balance against us in four vital areas:

1. Nuclear explosions in the range of 60 megatons, which only the Russians have tested in the atmosphere, can provide a "shield" or "umbrella" of exploding particles which guided ballistic missiles cannot penetrate. Editor Butz writes that this defense belt would remain "lethal" to incoming missiles for as much as one hour. Butz said it would be a "nearly perfect" screen against a barrage of missiles. It would differ from our projected Nike anti-missile system (which has to sort out the decoys and pinpoint its flying targets) to a degree almost beyond compare.

2. Improved accuracy of guidance systems by both the big nuclear powers will soon allow an intercontinental missile to achieve a CEP (circular error probable) rating of 600 feet. This is close enough to destroy our underground, or silo-based, Minutemen. It means we must almost certainly turn these fixed sites into mobile bases, probably on railroad tracks or river barges.

3. Reconnaisance satellites, both theirs and ours, can now locate and track submarines under several hundred feet of ocean. These developments go a long way toward neutralizing the effectiveness of our Polaris fleet.

4. Research, largely donated by the U.S.A., has radically reduced the cost of nuclear warheads and their delivery systems. The Japanese have a satellite launcher in being that cost a mere $25 million, indicating that almost any small nation can join the nuclear arms race. A non-proliferation treaty, such as the Administration seeks, is already outdated.

Against this grisly background of galloping technology, almost every strategic major policy of the President and the defense secretary looks belated and absurd.

We need to rescind the so-called Moscow Treaty instead of dickering for more treaties. We need to return to atmospheric testing if we hope to defend ourselves. We need to mobilize offensive weapons on land, sea and air at whatever the cost.

And we need, above all, to stop pretending that we can negotiate ourselves backwards into some pre-nuclear age, for that time has gone past all recall.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

Intellectuals? Says Who?

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Of all our many credibility gaps, no yawning chasm is as wide as that between the theories of our self-anointed intellectuals and plain, everyday common sense.

Yet there you are. If a first-grader says "Two and two make five," he is corrected. But let a so-called intellectual say it, and it gets serious editorial attention. Eventually, it may even become a law.

I've often asked the advocates of unlimited welfare to show me one case in recorded history where a government continually spent more than it took in and survived. The reply has always been—when I wasn't ignored altogether—that I placed property rights above human rights. That may be so, but it certainly is irrelevant and immaterial, and I wish the judge would direct the defendant to be more responsive.

It is the liberal's proud—and patronizing—boast that he has made this the Era of the Common Man. I say patronizing, because the last thing in the world he wants for himself is to be regarded as a common man.

No, he is a superior being, fairly reeking with intellect and goodness, and his heart bleeds profusely and constantly—I have termed the phenomenon cardiac hemophilia—for less fortunate folk. If God is dead, He was thoughtful enough to leave us intellectual humanitarians to take His place.

To these deep thinkers, money, though they scream at it in other hands, is not necessarily the root of all evil. Just give them enough and they will produce instant justice, integration, security and peace. So they say.

They do not, however, mention bankruptcy—a far more likely concomitant. If the poor, via the anti-poverty program, can make more—as has happened—by not working than working, you haven't cured poverty but are perpetuating it. Parkinson's Law.

Likewise, if you gush too sentimentally over the plight of an unmarried mother by giving her an extra allowance for each of her five children, the chances are good she'll have six. Just such a case was reported in England. When the welfare people asked the lady why she didn't marry the father of her five, she replied, "I don't like him that much."

The papers chronicle that the President's Commission on Education, after deep research, concludes that children of poor families, if taught with other such children, are bound to get an inferior education. To which I say, "Horsefeathers!"

In my day, the students at the College of the City of New York came almost entirely from the families of the "huddled masses" immortalized by Emma Lazarus. And out of that college poured thousands who wrote their names indelibly on the history of Manhattan. In the arts, the professions and the business world, they ranked every bit as high as those from the Ivy League. And managed at the same time to turn out basketball teams that beat the bejabbers out of Yale, Harvard and my own Columbia. But that, of course, was pre-welfare.

Washington now has "public facility" plans, notes the Chicago *Daily News,* that will require $500 billion over the next decade, with the final cost of these programs coming to a trillion and a half. (I was going to run that last item in figures, but I never remember how many zeroes there are in a trillion.)

Where is that money coming from, you ask? Sorry, but your conservative background is showing. Whatever is needed, God—oops!—I mean the Welfare State will provide. You can fly now—and let your children and grandchildren pay later.

I was shocked when friends, visiting India, wrote me of the beggar caste, which deliberately mutilates its children at birth to make them objects of pity that will stir the purse strings of tourists.

But if our bleeding hearts have their way, it won't be too long before visiting Indians are tossing pennies to our own children, sold into the slavery of the Welfare State.

Intellectuals? Says who?

(Copyright 1967, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

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Capitalism's Progress

By HOWARD KERSHNER

Some idea of the progress that has been made under capitalism can be gained from the fact that a pound of bacon can be purchased today with an average of 17 minutes' work by the typical factory employe, compared with 65 minutes a generation ago. Twenty-six minutes' work today will buy a pound of round steak, compared with 56 minutes 50 years ago. More than 10 hours of work by the average factory worker was required 50 years ago to purchase a pair of shoes. Today half that much labor will buy a comparable pair of shoes.

This advance of real wages is largely due to the fact that increasing amounts of capital have been expended to purchase more efficient equipment. The savers who have accumulated the necessary capital deserve part of the gain that has been made.

Forty-five years ago the average family spent about 40 per cent of its income for food. This percentage declined to 34.5 per cent during the mid '30s and continued downward to 28.2 per cent in the early '60s. Housewives are rightly concerned with rising food prices, but they nevertheless are spending a much smaller portion of the family income for clothing and shelter than they were obliged to spend 45 years ago. This makes it possible for the family to have a larger portion of its income for health, cultural and recreational activities.

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SOUTH DAKOTA RACE—Many South Dakota Republicans are hopeful that Rep. Ben Reifel, conservative lawmaker serving his fourth term in Congress, will run against liberal Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.) in 1968. Preliminary polls show Reifel, the only American Indian in the House, would run a strong race.

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Can't CBS Find a Better Reporter?

British subject Adam Raphael seems to overlook Viet Cong atrocities

By ALICE WIDENER

While much American attention at home has been focussed on "Keep the faith, baby" Adam Clayton Powell on Capitol Hill, far too little public attention has been focussed on CBS TV reporter Adam Raphael in Viet Nam, who reports on the war there over CBS TV news and fills the American airwaves with subtle and not-so-subtle interpretations designed to make our American military forces and those of our allies seem sadistic.

Mr. Raphael, says the Defense Department, is a British subject. Why should the American public be nightly propagandized by a foreign critic of our Viet Nam war effort over American airwaves? Can't CBS find an American commentator? It seems not; for Morley Safer, whose CBS reporting from Viet Nam caused much protest by our military men and the Defense Department, is a Canadian.

It is not necessary to be chauvinistic to find this very strange. If Safer and Raphael are so competent, why aren't they working for Canadian Broadcasting or BBC?

Adam Raphael recited the following commentary—with cuttingly caustic voice inflections—on the 11 p.m. Eastern Standard Time CBS Newscast, Feb. 15, 1967, about our allied Korean troops in South Viet Nam:

"They asked the prisoner to lead them to his hideout, and he refused. 'All right, kill him,' says the commander [Korean] and this is what followed . . . . They did not kill him, but they would have done with little compunction. He [Viet Cong] agreed to cooperate, and they were all kindness again. . . . This man [second Viet Cong] was captured earlier and they [Koreans] shot him through both shoulders to persuade him to talk. Later, these men [Koreans] lined up for a cute little snapshot to send home to the family."

Reporter Raphael's phrase "cute little snapshot" is intentionally and deliberately slanderous. It implies our Korean allies are the worst kind of brutes and sadists. The inflection of Raphael's voice as he said "cute" was like a dagger. He did not say a single word about the terrorism inflicted on Koreans, South Vietnamese and our GIs by the Viet Cong.

It is impossible in war to be otherwise than determined with a potential informer who, when captured, might divulge information that would spare the lives of many Allied troops and of many innocent South Vietnamese civilians. Adam Raphael said nary a word about the cunning and cruel terrorism of Viet Cong guerrillas. One would have thought they were harmless noncombatants only seeking to be friendly with the Koreans.

The face of war: South Vietnamese civilians huddle in fear during a Viet Cong attack on their village near Dong Xoai.

It would be interesting to learn how Adam Raphael would have reported on Allied activities against the Nazis in World War II had he been at the battlefront or in the resistance movement and had there been no wartime censorship. It seems to me that because there is no such censorship in the Viet Nam war, while half a million American GIs and several thousand Allied troops are risking their lives, CBS and other TV broadcasters have an even heavier responsibility to the American public than in World War II. And precisely because there is no wartime censorship in Viet Nam now, it also seems that CBS should make it a point to find a competent American commentator on battlefield action there, one who has a flesh-and-blood loyalty to our country and its fighting men.

On February 16, at 7 p.m. EST, CBS TV news carried Adam Raphael's commentary on "Operation Pershing" in Viet Nam conducted by our troops.

The TV film of combat showed some enemy suspects in our troops' hands. Raphael said, "but even if they were enemy they would be only local guerrillas" as if, somehow, local guerrillas were less harmful than the North Vietnamese enemy. But anyone who knows anything about the Viet Nam war and Communist techniques knows that the guerrillas are most cruel and most dangerous of all enemies.

Adam Raphael continued, "The Americans were furious that the VC had fired upon them. They took it out on the suspects. After a cursory inspection the lieutenant decided that this man was enemy on the basis of pack marks on his back. When the camera was out of action momentarily, changing film, he struck him across the face, but while cameraman [?] was filming they treated the suspect with contempt but without brutality."

Raphael then described a wounded old man whom the lieutenant wanted to send away via U.S. helicopter, but it couldn't transport enemy wounded because it was urgently needed elsewhere. Raphael went on that "if he [the lieutenant] was stuck with them [wounded enemies] he might as well make use of them. It might not be exactly according to the Geneva Convention, but he was not worrying about that. Better have them carry mortar rounds than exhaust their [Americans'] own troops and he marched them off with his patrol. . . . This then was the assault: Four suspects taken, one old man wounded, perhaps fatally, one village burned. . . . And the North Vietnamese? If they were there at all they stayed hidden and waited for nightfall."

Any fair-minded reader can detect the anti-Americanisms in these quotes. Why should we lend our airwaves via CBS TV to a British commentator at our battlefront who is not subject to wartime censorship and who speaks of our troops as "they" and "the Americans"? Why not have an American there who at least feels some bond of unity with our fighting men and some real sense of responsibility toward them?

Only an aroused American public can let CBS know that we American parents who have had or now have fighting sons in Southeast Asia prefer to get our news about them from an honest American reporter rather than a slanted British one.

If our GIs are brutal and sadistic, let's hear about it from one of our own. But why should we listen nightly or even a few times to a British TV commentator painting our boys as villains and the Viet Cong as "only local guerrillas" without the slightest reference to the guerrillas' terrorism against our troops, our allies and Vietnamese civilians? If this be chauvinism, then let CBS make the most of it!

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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FRENCH GRATITUDE—On April 1 the United States must vacate more than $1 billion worth of military facilities in France. These facilities include whole towns—built to U.S. standards, with hospitals, schools, libraries, housing, swimming pools and bowling alleys—which will be taken over by the French. Rep. William Bray (R.-Ind.) notes that the French are contemptuously ignoring treaty obligations which call for payment to the United States of residual value of the property. Says Bray: "The obligation is certainly moral when we consider what the United States has done for France. . . . French debt to the U.S. from World Wars I and II is $7 billion, and in addition we gave her another $7.5 billion in economic and military aid after World War II."

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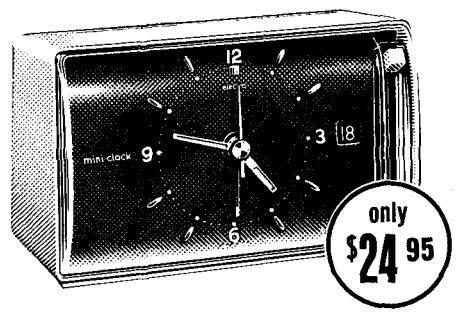

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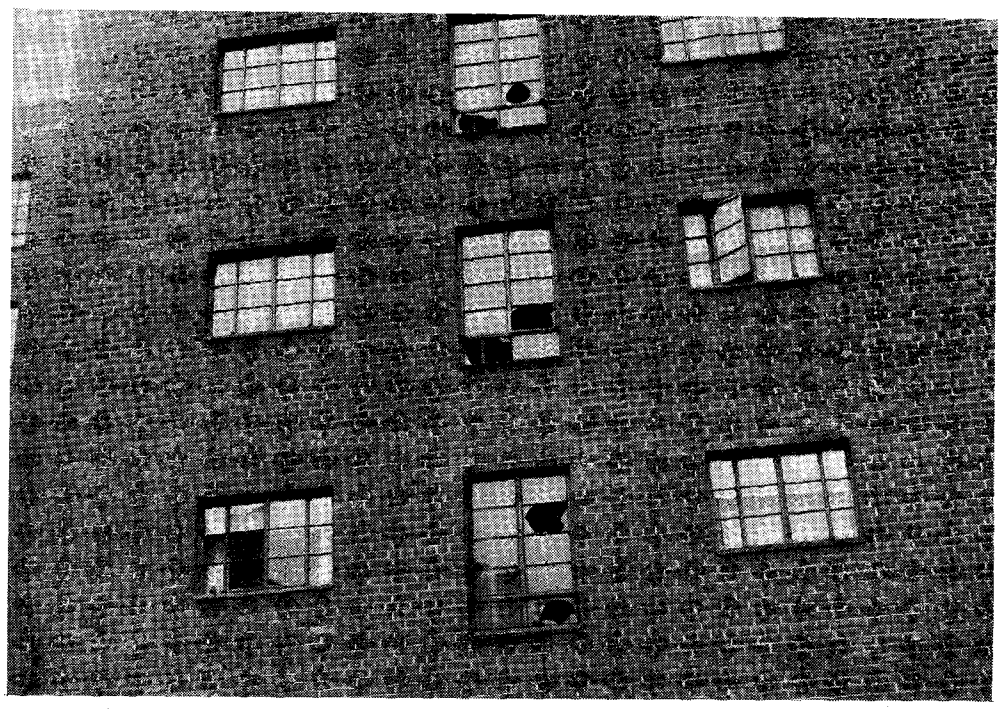

Broken windows in this Brooklyn public housing project testify to the difficulties all landlords face.

Just Berating 'Slumlords' Will Not Solve Housing Problem

By VICTOR LASKY

Liberal politicians have long ranted against landlords in underprivileged areas—the so-called "slumlords"—for allegedly making enormous profits at the expense of poor, exploited people.

Now it turns out that in many cases the "slumlords" themselves are probably the ones who are exploited. And apparently they are justified in complaining that they can hardly make a living from their properties.

The plight of the "slumlords" has been dramatized in unusual fashion. It seems that four years ago a New York civic group, worried about conditions in the slums, launched a project aimed at proving that landlords, by maintaining decent living conditions, could make at least an 8 per cent profit.

The other day the Citizens Housing and Planning Council sorrowfully announced it had failed. The council had purchased and operated two tenement houses on New York's Lower East Side, rehabilitated them at great cost, and found—after four years—that it was losing money.

In all, the non-profit council invested some $300,000. Last year a profit of a little over $1,000 was realized. Because of depreciation, however, the council lost $7,335 on the two buildings.

"It soon became clear that you couldn't make anything at all," moaned the council's executive director, Roger Starr. "It simply costs more money to keep up your property than you collect from rents at this level of the economic system."

In one of the buildings the council expended $115,000 installing new kitchens and bathrooms, replacing all electrical wiring and plumbing and replastering and painting. For all practical purposes, everything was done to make the place a fit place to live.

Today, the building is a virtual shambles. There are broken windows, plumbing in need of repairs, dirt and filth everywhere. Garbage a foot deep was piled in the air shafts, creating a rodent problem. New mail boxes were damaged, obviously by vandals.

Tenant vandalism is the major problem, Starr explained. And the costs of maintenance and materials are high. "No reasonable person would invest money to rehabilitate buildings like the ones we own," he added.

Needless to say, Mr. Starr's findings contradict views recently expressed by New York Senators Robert F. Kennedy and Jacob Javits that slum conditions could be eradicated by massive private investments.

Mr. Starr contends that only massive subsidies by city, state and federal governments to both landlords and tenants can do the job of making the city's slums habitable.

The council's own experiences, however, clearly demonstrate that huge subsidies are not the answer. Nor are public housing projects, many of which have been properly labeled "instant slums." The answer lies in somehow educating these people to live like human beings. But that is much easier said than done.

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Job Corps 'Success' Stories

A detailed survey of Job Corps graduates indicates that the glowing "success stories" peddled by Sargent Shriver's press agents are highly distorted.

The study, conducted for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, covered a random sample of 195 Job Corps graduates. (Four out of five corpsmen drop out before graduating.) The names of the graduates and their employers were obtained from the Job Corps. Highlights of the survey:

• Only 43 of the 195 were still employed, while employers had no record of 25 ever working.

• Of the 127 no longer employed, only 14 stayed six months or longer.

• Of the 127, 37 gave no reason for leaving; 30 were fired, mostly for absenteeism or poor work; 12 said their reason for leaving was "personal"; 10 left without notice; nine went into the service; eight went to another job; five "didn't like the work"; three returned to school, and there was no information on 13.

A second sampling conducted for the Chamber covered 107 Job Corps graduates. Of these, only 28 per cent were working in the job for which they had been trained. Twenty-one of the graduates had not held a job since leaving camp and only 15 got their job through the Job Corps; most of the rest had to find their own job.

How Boondoggles Grow

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Last September, when the House approved a $4.1-billion public works appropriation bill by a vote of 345-25, only a few voices were raised in objection to a provision allowing $500,000 for preliminary studies on the controversial Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal. (See *Human Events,* Oct. 1, 1966, page 1.)

These objections were ignored. In an atmosphere of euphoric camaraderie —"Let's do something for Mike"—the $500,000 sum was appropriated. Mike, of course, is Congressman Mike Kirwan, whose hometown of Youngstown, Ohio, would be the prime beneficiary of the canal. Described by the Upper Ohio Valley Association as "a planned disaster," the 120-mile canal would link Lake Erie with the Ohio River to provide cheap barge transportation for steel industries in the Youngstown-Pittsburgh area.

The canal has been opposed bitterly by leading public officials of Pennsylvania, by the Second Hoover Commission, and by localities that would be adversely affected by construction of the canal, on the grounds that it would be no more than a gigantic boondoggle underwritten by the taxpayers.

The Army Corps of Engineers, after a favorable feasibility study, put a $1.025-billion pricetag on construction of the canal; opponents have reckoned the cost as high as $3 billion over the next decade. This figure does not include the estimated $10 million annually that towns and cities along the canal route would have to pay in maintenance costs.

Apparently, there is some substance to charges that the engineers' estimates were grossly understated. Recently, bids were opened for drilling test holes along the proposed canal route between Warren and Ashtabula, Ohio. The engineers had estimated that the drilling would cost $65,770, but the low bid was $74,934, or a 7 per cent increase.

As Congressman Joseph P. Vigorito, of Erie, Pa., pointed out, a similar increase in other cost estimates would mean that the canal would run $71 million more than the engineers had estimated, placing the total price close to $1.1 billion.

Quite likely, by the time the engineers get around to taking bids for final construction a few years hence, a mere 7 per cent underestimation of costs will look good. And that's how boondoggles grow.

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BOOKS

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U.S. Senate Pamphlet describes Communist effort to discredit **J. Edgar Hoover.** $1.00. Hoover Pamphlets, 200 Third St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

'Honor' Welfare

By REP. PAUL FINO (R.-N. Y.)

I have read recently that a number of cities think that money will be saved if they forego red tape and put welfare on an "honor" system, whereby one can get on welfare by making an affidavit. This strikes me as absurd. I am willing to grant that over-investigation is unnecessary and unjustifiable harassment, but I feel that a certain amount of corroboration of need is much in order to justify the expenditure of public funds, particularly federal funds. . . . To me, such a requirement is simple common sense, but I am aware that among certain groups it is considered "unkind" to require welfare applicants to prove their eligibility. The coddling of spongers, glorified in exotic sociological jargon blaming the middle class for the plight of the "deprived," has become high fashion these days. It is a fashion I do not subscribe to. I think the taxpayers are entitled to know that welfare applicants have proven their eligibility for payments made.

House Legal Counsel

By REP. DAVID HENDERSON (D.-N.C.)

During the second week in March, the hottest debate of the week centered around whether the House, as such, should employ private counsel to defend the House and the individual members thereof in the suit brought by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell challenging the constitutionality of the House action. My own feeling on this issue was that in adopting a resolution authorizing the Speaker to employ counsel to "represent" the House, we were virtually conceding that the federal District Court has jurisdiction to consider this question and that we are at least going to send counsel into court to raise the question of jurisdiction. Until such time as competent counsel has made a really detailed and exhaustive study of the case, I would have much preferred that the resolution authorize employment of counsel to "advise" the House. To me, the term "represent" carries with it at least a strong suggestion that such a counsel would have the right, under the resolution, to proceed to file pleadings in court by which the House would be bound without the House having an opportunity to decide, specifically, if it wanted to be bound by such pleadings. For this reason I voted against the resolution as worded, although I strongly support the theory that the House should have privately employed counsel rather than relying on the Justice Department.

What is involved in the Powell case is the basic doctrine of the separation of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of our government under the Constitution, and in this instance the House, certainly should have counsel which is not a part of and primarily loyal to the executive branch of the government.

Business' Image

By SEN. PETER DOMINICK (R.-Colo.)

Surveys conducted on some of the nation's leading campuses show that the American businessman still suffers from the evil image of business popularized by the liberal intellectuals of the '30s. Students told the pollsters that they hear a lot of condemnation of business practices, and some praise too, but the praise is never as resounding as the condemnation. Students seem to have acquired the attitude that their participation is not sought by the business community. Such a statement was recorded at a large Eastern university. The students said that they didn't really object to business, but they didn't feel that business needed them. We do need them and we need their participation in seeking solutions to a whole raft of vexing problems that confront us and will continue to confront us in the future. We need to do a better job in teaching them the fundamentals of our free enterprise system. Many business groups across the country are doing a fairly good job in this program, but I think we can and must do better.

Strengthen Local Gov't

By REP. EDWARD BIESTER (R.-Pa.)

If we do not trust the ultimate good sense, decency and good will of the American people, if we try to achieve a better America by fiat from some heavy-handed centralized bureaucracy in Washington, the flavor and diversity and spice of a varied America will be swept away and will be replaced by a national orthodoxy of prescribed thought and conduct at the lowest common denominator. That is why we must find some method for tax sharing to get resources back to the states without a tangled web of strings. That's why we must revitalize local government in every corner of this country.

- If we do not modernize our Congress and make its ethics a source of national pride and its organization efficient, confidence in this greatest voice the little people have in our government will fail and become impotent. That is why we must have a standing ethics committee with teeth, and that is why we must have congressional reorganization, both of which Republicans support.
- If we do not understand that automation will free us from hours of menial work and enrich our lives, we may fail to encourage industry to pursue it or, in fact, restrict its development. That is why investment credits must be a steady national policy and that is why the job retraining program is so terribly important, and I am proud to say that Republicans support both of these measures.

Galloping Costs

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

Nothing better illustrates the growth characteristics of a newborn federal infant than the U.S. Office of Education. On its birth date 100 years ago this month, the office had a total budget of $18,592 and a total staff of four, including three clerks and the commissioner. His salary was $4,000 a year. Today, Mr. Harold Howe II, the 17th commissioner, receives a salary of $26-000 a year for overseeing a staff of 2,500 employes with a total budget of $3.9 billion. Please note that Mr. Howe's salary alone is one third greater than the total agency budget in 1867; today's agency budget is nearly as much as the total spending budget of every department and agency of government in 1932.

Social Security

By REP. JOE WAGGONNER (D.-La.)

The President has asked Congress to increase Social Security benefits by 20 per cent, a figure he knows the Congress will not approve. Some increase will be approved, I believe, but it will not in my opinion be a percentage increase anywhere near 20 per cent. With this legislation, the Administration is attempting to trade on the concern we all feel for for the needy and aged, to establish the first step of a guaranteed annual income for everyone. If, under the guise of assisting Social Security annuitants, the Administration can establish a guaranteed wage high enough, it can then turn its attention to guaranteeing the same to other age groups. This is a trap which has not as yet been sprung, but the intent of the legislation is clear to me. Hearings on this proposal have just begun in the Ways and Means Committee and there is no way of knowing at this time what the final proposal will contain. Congress has, historically, provided cost-of-living increases in benefits and I will hope that the present and future purposes of the program can be kept in line with the original intent of Congress.

State's Glass Houses

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

The Department of State reports that it plans to install laminated safety glass windows in some of its embassies abroad. It is designed to reduce the danger of flying glass from terrorist bomb explosions and also is described by the department as being "virtually impenetrable to the more common hand-thrown objects, such as rocks, bricks, etc." The next question is how soon will Congress be called upon to provide "combat pay" for our foreign diplomats? An even better question is what has been obtained for the billions of dollars we have lavished on the rest of the world and which was designed to make friends and influence people?

India's Food Crisis

By REP. J. HERBERT BURKE (R.-Fla.)

India must take certain specific steps to help herself if she is to merit this nation's confidence, and that this country will participate in any multilateral assistance program for Indian food relief only as long as other members meet their commitments.

Among the specific steps which India might take to relieve her seemingly chronic food shortage is to give a higher priority to agriculture in her development planning. During her first development plans India was lucky. Her harvests were good. The result was to continue planning in terms of large industrial expansion, without paying sufficient attention to the agricultural base. India is now paying a price for that shortsightedness, but it is not a price that should continue. This much of the remedy, at least, is in Indian hands. Furthermore, India could plant food crops on land presently devoted to cotton, which is a world surplus crop. This country has a right to expect that India is meeting the requirements of Public Law 480 as amended, in this regard, before it continues to make wheat available out of its own shrinking supplies.

India is making efforts at population control. This is commendable, for unless the Indian population can be kept within some limits, all the assistance in the world will be for naught. Unfortunately, reports on the success of India's family planning program are mixed. Admittedly, this is a tremendous problem, but additional effort is necessary if food aid for India we are called upon to support is to be of any value, now or in the future.

Senate Consular Treaty Votes

Following is the 67-to-25 rollcall vote by which the Senate on March 15 rejected the reservation offered by Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) providing that the U.S.-U S S R consular treaty not take effect until U.S. troops are no longer needed in Viet Nam or that Soviet aid to North Viet Nam is not holding up the recall of U.S. troops from Viet Nam:

FOR THE RESERVATION: 25

DEMOCRATS (10): Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W.Va.), Eastland, Ervin, Gruening, Hill, Hollings, Russell, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (15): Carlson, Cotton, Curtis, Fannin, Hansen, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Smith, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

AGAINST THE RESERVATION: 67

DEMOCRATS (49): Anderson, Bartlett, Bayh, Bible, Burdick, Church, Clark, Ellender, Fulbright, Gore, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hayden, Holland, Inouye, Jackson, Jordan (N.C.), Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N.Y.), Long (Mo.), Long (La.), Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Monroney, Montoya, Morse, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Smathers, Sparkman, Spong, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (18): Aiken, Allott, Baker, Bennett, Boggs, Case, Cooper, Dominick, Fong, Griffin, Hatfield, Hickenlooper, Javits, Kuchel, Morton, Pearson, Percy and Prouty.

Paired or announced for: Dodd, Lausche, McClellan.

Paired or announced against: Brewster, Brooke, Cannon, Dirksen and Scott.

Later in the day on March 15, the Senate rejected an "understanding" offered by Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R.-Me.) that an honorable conclusion to the Viet Nam war would be reached before any new Soviet consulates are opened in this country. Mrs. Smith's motion was defeated 51 to 38.

FOR THE UNDERSTANDING: 38

DEMOCRATS (18): Anderson, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W.Va.), Eastland, Ervin, Gruening, Hartke, Hill, Holland, Hollings, Jordan (N.C.), McClellan, Montoya, Russell, Smathers, Stennis, Talmadge and Yarborough.

REPUBLICANS (20): Aiken, Allott, Baker, Bennett, Carlson, Cotton, Curtis, Dominick, Fannin, Hansen, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Smith, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

AGAINST THE UNDERSTANDING: 51

DEMOCRATS (41): Bartlett, Bayh, Bible, Burdick, Clark, Ellender, Fulbright, Gore, Harris, Hart, Hayden, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N.Y.), Lausche, Long (Mo.), Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Monroney, Morse, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Sparkman, Spong, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.) and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (10): Boggs, Case, Cooper, Fong, Griffin, Hatfield, Kuchel, Morton, Percy and Prouty.

Paired or announced for: Dodd and Thurmond.

Paired or announced against: Brewster, Brooke, Cannon, Dirksen, Javits, Long (La.) and Scott.

Not voting and not announced: Church and Hickenlooper.

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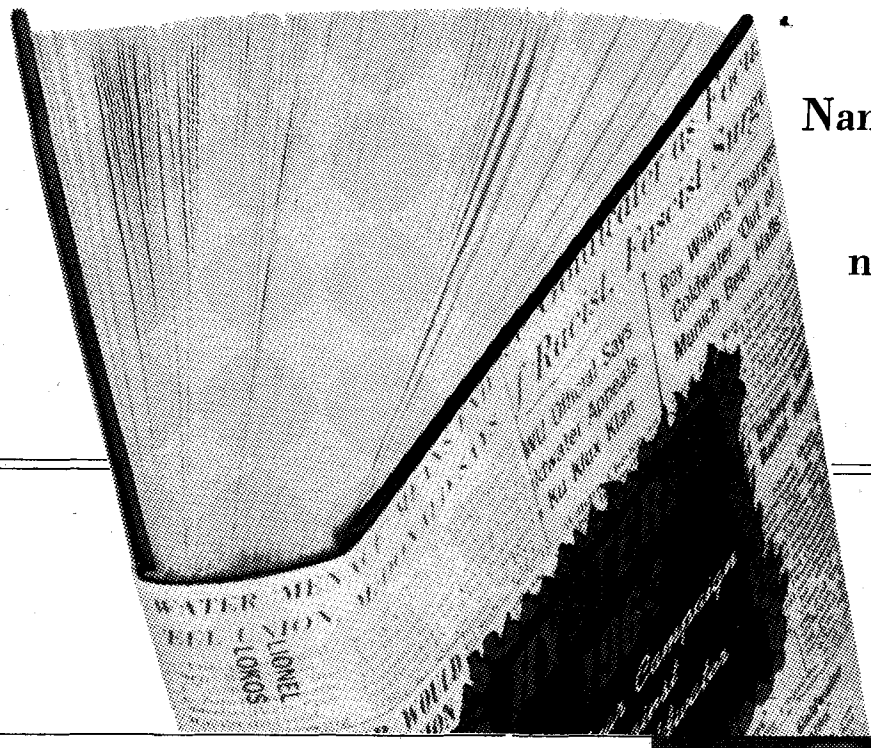

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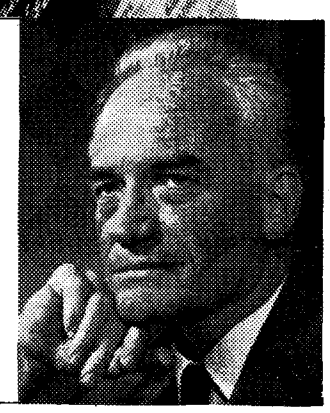

HYSTERIA 1964

The Fear Campaign Against Barry Goldwater

by Lionel Lokos. A Selection of the Conservative Book Club

EVERY CONSERVATIVE knows, from his own aching experience, the deliberate lies that engulfed Barry Goldwater in 1964. So does Lionel Lokos (author of *Who Promoted Peress?*). But in 1964 Lokos did more than look on in outrage. He kept voluminous files before and during the campaign. With mounting fury, he watched the Liberal hatchetmen slant, suppress, twist, bury, lie. Millions of Americans were gulled.

It is too late to undo that debacle. But Lionel Lokos is determined at least to show *how* it happened: how a decent man and a great patriot was transformed into a monster by the "respectable" media. Here's just a hint of the smears that Lokos exposes:

- **The radio program that predicted that Goldwater as President would postpone the next Presidential election.**
- **Goldwater plans a vacation in the Bavarian Alps — and the Liberal press reports it as a neo-Nazi plot.**
- **The New York newspaper that prints all the news that fits . . . and therefore keeps silent about news favorable to Goldwater.**
- **LBJ's spokesman charges that Goldwater victory would bring sinking of American merchant marine.**
- **Liberals in never-never land: the charge that a Goldwater victory would mean forced labor camps in the U.S.**
- **The CBS report that Goldwater denounced as "the damnedest lie I ever heard."**
- **Rockefeller and Scranton cut up Goldwater. Barry's grim remark about their tactics.**
- **Goldwater's moving speech in support of his vote against the Civil Rights Bill of 1964.**
- **"A Diary of Defamation": day by day through the muck.**
- **Irresponsible fantasies in print — by Lippman, Pearson, many others.**
- **Disgraceful tactics of Look, Life, Newsweek, Time and the NBC, CBS and ABC networks.**
- **The hoax about NATO Commanders getting the right to fire nuclear weapons — authority which they already had!**
- **Goldwater's own interpretation of his statement on "extremism."**
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